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LETTER FROM JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

The following letter, though addressed to the inhabitants of the Twelfth Congressional District of Massachusetts, is of so much importance to ev-ery inhabitant of the United States, that we lose no time in laying it before our readers. It will add fresh laurels to the crown of honor which sparkles

from the Quincy Patriot .- Liberator. To the Inhabitants of the Twelfth Congressiona District of the Commonwealth of Massachu-

upon the brow of its illustrious author. We copy

FELLOW CITIZENS:-On the 23d of August 1837, a District Convention of Delegates from most of the towns constituting the District was held, at which were adopted resolutions of the fol-

2. That the abridgment of it by Congress is a violation of the Constitution, and ought to be resisted

by the people.
3. That the Gag Resolution of the House of Representatives of the United States of 18th of January, 1837, was a most flagrant violation of the con-

4. A resolution, approving my previous course as the Representative of the District, in persisting to present petitions, and demanding the action o the House upon them, with a pledge of support to sustain me in that course.

5. A resolution, requesting the Representative of the District in Congress to oppose any attempt in that body at the annexation of Texas to the United States.

6. That such an annexation would weaken, in stead of strengthening, in a military point of view, the defence of the Union.

7. The appointment of a Committee to address the citizens of the other Congressional Districts of

8. That a copy of the above resolutions be presented to the Representative of the District, requesting his aid or co-operation in furtherance of the views of his constituents, as contained in the

foregoing resolutions.

Since the day of the adoption of these resolu tions, a session has been held of the Legislature of the Commonwealth, at which resolutions respecting the right of the people to petition-earnestly disapproving the Gag resolutions of the House of Representatives of the United States, and solemnly protesting against the annexation of Texas to this Union, entirely conformable to the above resolutions of the District Convention, were adopted very large majorities in both branches of the Le

And in the same interval have been held tw sessions of the Congress of the United States.

An impartial and unprejudiced stranger looking to the condition of this Union, as affected by all the external circumstances not under our own control, would naturally imagine that during this period we have been the most prosperous and happy people on the face of the earth. We have enjoyed in rich and uninterrupted profusion all the ordinary bounties of Providence. The earth has yielded the treasure of her annual productions in abundance. The ocean has been propitious to the continual expansion of our commerce, and liberal in her contributions of nourishment and of light drawn from the bosom of the deep. Genial suns and refreshing showers have ripened our harvests, and the labors of the husbandman have been crowned with the marrow and fatness of the land. The air of heaven has been wafted in balmy breezes all over our shores. No convulsion of nature has spread ruin or even alarm over any portion of our population. No earthquake, no tornado, no pestilence, has desolated or afflicted our dwellings; all the visitations of heaven have been no other than dispensations of good and varieties of bles-

The dispositions of our brothers of the human family associated in other communities, but connected with us by the ties of commercial intercourse, have also been uncommonly favorable to us. We have been at peace with all mankind. save where that peace has been violated, interrupt ed, or threatened by our own wrong-for with dictates of truth, I must confess that our treatment of our fellow men has neither corresponded with their treatment of us, nor with the precept of the gospel which embraces the whole duty of man to his brother, to do unto others as we would that they should do unto us-our wrongs to the colored race of Africa, and of this continent, have indeed been of long standing; but in these latter days they have been aggravated beyond measure, To repair the injustice of our fathers towards both these ra-ces, had been from the day of the Declaration of Independence the conscience of the good and the counsel of the wise rulers of the land. Washington, by his own example in the testamentary dis-posal of his property—Jefferson, by the unhesita-ang convictions of his own mind, by unanswerable argument and eloquent persuasion, addressed almost incessantly throughout a long life to the reason and feelings of his countrymen, had done homage to the self-evident principles which the nation at her birth had been the first to proclaim. Emancipation, universal emancipation was the lesson which they had urged upon their cotemporaries, and held forth as transcendant and irremissible puties, to their children of the present age. Instead of which, what have we seen? what see we now? Communities of slaveholding braggarts of freedom ing at defiance the laws of nature and of nature's God, restoring slavery where it had been extinguished, and vainly dreaming to make it eternal.— Forming in the sacred name of liberty, constitution of government, interdicting to the legislative authority itself, that most blessed of all human powchority itself, that most blessed of an inducative ers—the power of giving liberty to the slave!—Governors of states urging upon their legislatures to make the exercise of the freedom of speech, to propagate the right of the slave to freedom, felony without benefit of clergy. Ministers of the gospel, like the priest in the parable of the good Samaritan, coming and looking at the bleeding victim of the highway robber, and passing on the other side!—

Socrates, elaborating theories of *Moral Slavery* from the Alembics of a sugar plantation, and vaporing about lofty sentiment and generous benevo-lence, to be learned from the hereditary bondage of man to man! Infuriated mobs, murdering the peaceful minister of Christ, for the purpose of extinguishing the light of a printing press, and burning with unhallowed fire the Hall of Freedom, the Orphan's School, and the church devoted to the worship of God! And last of all, both Houses of Congress turning a deaf ear to hundreds of thousands of petitioners, and quibbling away their duty to read, and listen, and consider, in doubtful dispu-

of their fellow citizens and fellow men! And the red man of the forest! the indigenous inhabitant of the Western hemisphere! the primitive possessor of our native soil! Dispossess without reason, but perhaps without adequate compensation, by our forefathers of his inheritance, bounded only by the oceans and the lakes; straitened in his hunting grounds, by the necessary and mavoidable progress of civilization and tillage, there was yet ample room left him in the immeas urable regions of the South and West for his continual enjoyment of the hunter state, and even for his own transformation into a tenant of the soil, and a tiller of the ground. To this beneficen change of his condition, all the labors, and all the exertions of Washington and of Jefferson had been devoted. The remnants of his allodial right, resued from the grasp of the Anglo-Saxon planter and farmer, had been secured to him at the price of his surrender of all the rest, by solemn treaties pledging the faith of the nation, and by laws interdicting upon severe penalties the intrusion of the white man upon his domain. In contempt of those treaties, in defiance of those laws, the sovereign state of Georgia extended her jurisdiction over those Indian lands, and lavished in lottery tickets to her people, the cultivated fields, the growing harvests, and the furnished dwellings of the Cherokee; imprisoned in a dungeon the pious missionaries, preaching among them the gospel of Christ, and set at naught the solemn injunction of the Supreme Court of the United States pronouncing this licensed robbery, alike lawless and unconstitutional

And what in this emergency was the conduct of the Executive Administration of this Union? Not content with truckling to the usurpations of Georgia, it made itself instrumental to the consummation of her wrong. Not content with abandoning the Indians to their hopeless fate, and leaving unexecuted the sentence of the laws, it forced by an admixture of fraud and violence, upon the whole Cherokee nation, a mock treaty of New Echota pretending to bind the whole nation to a compact concluded with less than three hundred unauthorized individuals. And when fifteen thousand of this cheated and plundered people complained of this in the humble attitude of gress for redress, and when thousands upon thousming ruin, and redeem our violated faith, a momentary semblance of attention was given to their claims by a refusal to lay them on the table, carried by a majority of one vote, yet the next day that vote was changed; a reconsideration was moved and carried, and by a vote of yeas and nays, at the vote of a member from Georgia, the whole subject was laid upon the table.

In the treatment of the African and native Amercan races, we have thus subverted the maxims, and degenerated from the virtues of our fathers; and for all this, the last and present administrations are emphatically responsible. The political system of Washington and of Jefferson was merciful to the African, and liberal to the native American race. Eternal slavery for mercy, extermination for liberality, were the substitutes of the last administration; and the present Chief Magistrate can discern no path to glory but in the footsteps of his il-

ustrious predecessor. Upon these subjects, however, as well as upon the senseless and absurd experiments of the administration to redeem themselves and not the people from other experiments equally senseless and absurd of the illustrious predecessor, I have been cal-led to act, at the recent sessions of Congress, upon my own discretion, without the benefit of instruction or advice from your Convention of Delegates. In the transactions concerning our Indian Affairs, and in those relating to the currency and the keeping of the public monies, when there was neither currency to regulate nor public monies to keep, I have taken but little active part; knowing that all resistance to the relentless system of expulsion, or attempt to avert the doom of the Southern Indians, vould be vain. That all inquiries into the wasteful expenditures and glaring enormities of the Florida war would be stifled or perverted into servile approbation of imposture by committees appointed y a Tennessean Speaker, and that other members of the House of great ability and excellent principles, with a more minute and comprehensive knowledge of the subject than I could possess, took

fate of the Indian tribes, under a northern adminis tration with southern principles. The prostration of the Divorce, or the Sub Treasuries, or the Independent Treasury, as in its harlequin transformations it was variously nicknamed—that treaty of peace and alliance between southern nullification and northern pro-slavery, as it should have been named, was also in able hands. Slavery—the perpetuation and propagation of the slave-trade, was at the bottom of it all. The southern opposition to a national bank, ministering to the vengeful passions of the late President, has its root in the panic terrors and insatiate thirst of domination in the slaveholding planters of the south, once characterized by him under the name of inlependent farmers, as the best part of the population. This view of the subject was not taken in a-

deep interest in it, and would do, as they did, all

that man could do, to mitigate the predetermined

ny of the debates at the two recent sessions of Congress, but it is the keystone to all the vaults, and the key to all the safes in the bill for imposing ad Great Britain; these are all subjects of high and dove-tailed into the strong box of the fire proof reasury vaults; the annual graduation of an exclusive hard money currency to furnish occupation for a new batch of official dignitaries by the name of Receivers General, was the bond of reconciliation and pledge of union between the late inflexible adsided in the interests specially given and timportance of the interests specially given and timportance of the interests specially given and timportance of the interests specially given and in charge, by the resolutions of your Convention, or sink into comparative insignificance before them.

It is known to most of you, that at the first session of the twenty-fourth Congress, on the twenty-fourth Congress, on the twenty-fourth Congress. and pledge of union between the late inflexible adversary to executive patronage, and the northern sixth of May, 1835, a resolution, compounded of man with southern principles. It was at first secution glavery and northern subserviced was ning and looking at the bleeding victim of the hway robber, and passing on the other sill, perverting the pages of the sacred without it. The bill was carried without it. The bill was carried without it. The bill was carried with it was to turn into a code of slavery the very at the special session, through the Senate, but in the sacred faith of the southern principles. It was at first resouthern subserviency, was bouthern subserviency, was the sacred faith of the southern subserviency, was the sacred faith of the sacred faith of the southern subserviency, was the sacred faith of the southern subserviency.

word of God! Philosophers, like the sophists of the House was postponed, to consult the constituancient Greece, pulverized by the sober sense of ency. The northern constituency manifested for it the most unequivocal symptoms of disgust and contempt. The slaveholding planters liked it but

ced, with the hard money section as one of its constituent parts, but after a long discussion, at the last debateable stage of the bill in the Senate, it was struck out. Thus it came to the House of Representatives, and there at its first reading was treated obtruded on the House in the shape of a bill from the committee of Ways and Means. It was then tations, whether they shall receive, or receiving, much and well debated. It was tried with the hard refuse to read or hear the complaints and prayers money section, and without it nullification and slavery were its most ardent and almost only patrons. The deadly hostility of the slaveholder to all banking credit under the name of capital, displayed it-self in dissertations to prove a natural hostility between capital and labor; in stimulants to war between the capital and the labor of the north, and instigations in the shape of predictions to the labor in Chesnut street, as the anti-abolitionists had demolished the Pennsylvania Hall. The condition of master and slave is, by the laws of nature and of God, a state of perpetual, inextinguishable war. Deeply conscious of this, the slaveholder soothes this same war still exists in free communities beween the capitalist and the laborer. He builds up theory that confounds poverty with slaveryand he says to the laborer of the north-you are poor, your next door neighbor is rich-you are ompelled to hard labor to earn your subsistence and that of your family-you are a laborer-he is capitalist-vou are his slave—there is his banking house-go and burn it down-and I, for the sake of preventing my slaves from burning down my plantation, will put in your hand the torch to set

fire to his marble palace in Chesnut street. The slaveholder assumes it as an elementary principle of his system of policy, that the democracy of numbers in the free states is poor. He eres to the wealthy. He is not aware that one effect of aggregating small and large sums together to form the capital of monied or industrious corporations, is to impart to the poor a participation in the profits of credit, and to break down the wall of partition between the poor and the rich. The slaveholder strives to kindle the fires of mutual envy and jealousy between the different classes of men in the communities of the free; and invokes the la- ed the motion by an eloquent and powerful speech very of the south.

ands of petitioners among our own people joined tives from all the free states, and of all parties, to the report of the Committee, which was to smo spare them; the influence of which I have myself ther at once the Right of Petition in the people onstantly felt. It was one of the principal reasons and the Freedom of Speech in the House. for my abstaining to take part in the debates of any I expressed my abhorrence of that Resolutio of the sub-treasury bills.

I could not indeed overlook at the special session

the affiliated bills for compounding with the delinquent banks, and for postponing the payment of the fourth instalment of the deposit with the states. This measure had been rendered unavoidable by the infatuation, to use no harsher term of the Secretary of the Treasury, in heaping up the deposites of the public funds in the banks of the southern and south-western states, and draining those of the north, so that there was no fund left from which the nstalment could be paid there, while it was much more than overpaid in the favorite states. The bill tion, not only restoring slavery in all its rigor, first proposed from the Treasury was to repeal in but denying to their Congress the power to emanthe form of postponing the instalment. When it was found that this could not be carried, a postponement to the first of January, 1839, was subtituted; but an appropriation of funds which I proposed and urged was evaded, and now the law equires the payment of the instalment on the first of January next, and no preparation whatever has been made to provide the means for its payment. The deficiency of the funds is certain. You may judge what prospect there is of your ever obtaining the payment. The south and the south-west, in the meantime, have received much more than their share of the instalment, and they will take care to keep it. There is nothing which has more elearly exemplified the policy of the northern administration with southern principles, than this discrimination between the northern and southern states in the distribution of the public monies.

Of the other subjects which have engaged the deliberations of Congress, distinct from those specially recommended by the resolutions of your the House relating to the repeated issues of ten with that country. A more frivolous pretence, millions of treasury notes—the total sacrifice both state sovereignty in the transactions at both sessions respecting the Mississippi contested elections; the strange inconsistency, and rancorous distillation of revolted province.

party venom, in the protracted proceedings upon revolted province.

But the free people of this Union had now taken but the free people of this Union had now taken distinct the revolution of their danseless. strange inconsistency, and rancorous distillation of self-immolated to the peculiar institutions of the South: The questionable and dangerous, but perhaps necessary abandonment of the public lands to the intrusion of lawless occupancy, recommended by the president, consummated by the concurrent action of both Houses; with the approbation of respected members of our own delegation, and of which I would, therefore, speak with distrust of my own judgment; but threatening, in my apprehension, the total subversion of your admirable system of land-laws, and the final waste of your immense interest of property in the public domain The portentous increase amounting almost to duplication of your standing army—the feeble, wavering, and time-serving policy of the administra-tion, carried out by their managers in Congress, ditional duties as depositories, and in all its kinditional duties as depositories, and in all its kinditional duties as depositories, and in all its kinditional duties as depositories, and in the momentous concernment to you; but all, as well as dred broad of abortions. The specie section, as it the momentous concernment to you; but all, as well as dred broad of abortions. The specie section, as it the momentous concernment to you; but all, as well as dred broad of abortions. The specie section, as it the momentous concernment to you; but all, as well as dred broad of abortions. The specie section, as it the momentous concernment to you; but all, as well as dred broad of abortions. The specie section, as it the momentous concernment to you; but all, as well as dred broad of abortions. public monies, are either merged in the transcendant importance of the interests specially given me.

press the swelling murmurs of public opinion, calling in the name of mercy and of humanity for the abolition of both. Its conciliatory compre that end, was a consent to receive and a refusal to read or consider all petitions, memorials, resolutions, or papers, relating in any manner to those

This resolution was an experiment-a repetition of that of Canute the Great, who commanded the tide of the ocean not to approach his feet. Twenlike an anti-slavery petition-laid on the table, ty-three thousand petitioners at that session of Con-But towards the close of the session, it was again gress played for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the Territories. At the next session those petitioners had multiplied to upwards of one hundred thousand.

At the time of the first gag-resolution of the 26th of May, 1836, I had been five years a member of the House, and your representative. I had deprecated all discussion of slavery or its abolition in the House, and gave no countenance to petitions lumbia or the Territories. But I presented all such petitions which were committed to my charge, of the north to demolish by fire the marble palace and moved their reference to appropriate committees, which was accordingly done without opposi

tion. Brief and adverse reports were made by the committees to which the petitions were referred. which were received without exciting debate in the House. The prayer of the petitions was not granhis soul by sophistical reasonings into a belief that ted, but the petitions were respectfully treated, and there was no excitement in the House or among

the people at the result.

In February, 1833, a Petition from sundry inhabitants of the District of Columbia itself, for the gradual abolition of slavery and the prohibition of ne slave-trade in the District, was presented by Mr. Coulter, a member from Pennsylvania.

In January, 1834, Mr. W. W. Ellsworth, a mem per from Connecticut, and now Governor of that State, presented petitions, signed, as he said, by more than one thousand names, of the same purport, which at his motion were referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia; and in ecommending them to the special consideration perceives that credit naturally and necessarily ad himself concurred entirely in sentiment with the

In February, 1835, Mr. John Dickson, a menper from the State of New York, presented a considerable number of petitions, one of which was from the American Anti-Slavery Society; and another signed by upwards of eight hundred women of the city of New York. Mr. Dickson moved their reference to a select Committee, and supportbor of the north as an auxiliary defence to the sla- No answer was made to the speech, but then commenced the system of suppression. The motion As an attempt to sow the seeds of discord be-tween the freemen of the north among themselves, and nays, 117 to 77, laid on the table. A motion indignant remonstrance. Perhaps it was right to then reconsidered, and then by 139 to 63, laid on forbear all retorted invective and scorn, upon the the table. Till then, I had taken no active part in peculiar institutions of the south. There is, in- any of the proceedings of the House on these subdeed, a remarkable concurrence in the representa- jects. Nor in the session of 1835 and '36, until

> at the moment of its passage; as I have done at each of its repetitions. Just at the time of its first passage, the results of the battle of San Jacinto had rendered it probable that the Texian conspiracy and insurrection would succeed in breaking off that province, and an undefined extent of territory from the Mexican Confederation. The Mexican government had abolished slavery throughout the whole republic. But the Texian insurrectionists on the 2d of March, 1836, had issued their declaration of independence, and on the 7th of the same month, had promulgated a Constitucipate slaves, and denying to their own citizens the right of emancipating their own slaves without the consent of Congress. Nay more-as if to make a mockery of the rights of human nature. this Constitution of a sovereign and independent people, by one and the same Section, denied to their Legislature the power to prohibit the importation of slaves from the United States, and declared the same importation from any other part of the world,

The acquisition of Texas, whether by purchase or conquest, had already become a cardinal point in the slaveholding policy of the Administration of this Union. To achieve it by purchase from Mexico had been urged upon her government to the extent of a provocation to war. To that end General Gaines had been invested with a discretionary authority to invade her territory, which he did not fail to use; while Mr. Powhattan Ellis, the Mississippian Charge d'Affairs at Mexico, was instructed to pick a quarrel with her government convention, to avoid encroaching upon your pa-tience, I shall say but little. The proceedings of United States engaged in commercial intercourse and a more wanton provocation to war, was never of every principle of popular representation and of given between nation and nation. Even the wretched Mexican prisoner Santa Anna, was used as an instrument, and liberated from captivity to extort from his country the cession of her rights to this

the alarm. They had been warned of their danger, and observed the progress of this tri-partite ian conspirators, to breed a war with Mexico, to sustain and perpetuate the slavery supremacy of the South. At the special session of Congress numerous petitions against the annexation of Texas, to some of which many of your names were subscribed, were presented. Two of the resolutions of Plymouth, against the annexation of Plymouth, against the annexation of Plymouth, against the annexation of ions of your Convention of delegates had made it Texas to the United States, and moved that, my special duty to oppose the measure. And at together with forty other petitions on the same session, multitudes of other petitions continued to pour in for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade wherever the power of Congress extends. They were all postponed to the gress extends. They were all postponed to the winter session, on the ready and plausible ground that there was not time for the consideration of ers, should be referred to a select committee. Th subjects other than those for which the special ses- Chairman of the Committees of Foreign Affairs sion had been called. When the winter session came, the war-trumpet was again sounded by the Message of the President against Mexico. The Texian Plenipotentiary, commissioned to solicit the annexation, had been put off with a sort of 'Re-Texian Plenipotentiary, commissioned to solicit the annexation, had been put off with a sort of 'Return Jonathan refusal.' He had been told with solicit them by the House. It was to get them all into them by the House. It was to get them all into them by the House. It was to get them all into their hands—to keep them all till the close of the closed at one of the interruptions to which I was sees in the proposal, and moreover, that they could not think of it now, because it would risk a could not think of it now, because it would risk a could not think of it now, because it would risk a could not think of it now, because it would risk a could not think of it now, because it would risk a could not think of it now, because it would risk a could not the committee when they were referred to them by the House. It was to get them all into their them by the House. It was to get them all into the risk of the new school of servile philosophy, casually disclosed at one of the interruptions to which I was increased to the referred to them by the House. It was to get them all into their hands—to keep them all till the close of the new school of servile philosophy, casually disclosed at one of the interruptions to which I was increased. This was however then done by a shorter process.

This was however then done by a shorter process.

The question whether they should be referred to them by the House. It was to get them all into their hands—to keep them all till the close of the new school of servile philosophy, casually disclosed at one of them, and then by a lumping report lay them all on the table.

This was however then done by a shorter process.

The question whether they should be referred to them by the flower of them by the them all till the close of the new school of servile philosophy, casually disclosed at one of them. The process is the new school of the interruptions to which I was the new school of the interruptions to which I was the new school of the interruptions to which I was the new school of the interrup to accept the proposal, and moreover, that they could not think of it now, because it would risk a

subject of slavery and the slave trade, and to sup- of Foreign Affairs, professed his readiness and ca- the Chairman of the committee of Foreign Affairs pacity to swallow another for the sake of Texas. And as to the war with Mexico, one President had be justifiable, and his successor, even while alleging this pretence of war and the sacred faith of treaties, was about to tell Congress not only that he, himself, agreed with his predecessor, that war would have been justifiable the winter before, but that they, both Houses of Congress, had been of the same opinion, and that it was now not only more justifiable but indispensable, because the last magnanimous appeal to the justice and the fears of Mexico, heralded by a Courier from the Department of State, with the indulgence of one week for an answer, had totally failed.

Fellow Citizens-You shall seldom fail to detect the double-dealer, if you compare his words at different times with each other, and his words and his actions together. The professions of objection to the proposal of Mr. Memucan Hunt were false and hollow—consent and fierce desire for the seemingly repudiated connection were at the heart. Instead of a prompt, positive and final refusal, as presented by the Chairman of the late Committee of Foreign Affairs, it was a mere negative pregnant-a provocation to perseverance, like that of the lascivious lass in Virgil-

"Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella, Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri;

and so it has been understood by the Legislature of Texas, which far from being discouraged by this ostensible rebuff to their addresses, have after full deliberation, resolved not to withdraw their

The anti-slavery petitions, presented at the late session of Congress, were signed by not less than three hundred thousand names. One would have imagined that this was sufficient evidence of the tranquilizing effect of the composing draught of Pinckney laudanum. But on a motion of Mr. Slade of Vermont, that one of these petitions should be referred to a select committee with instructions to report a bill to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, the boiler of the peculiar incally the question-'What is Slavery?'-and he defined it with a master hand-'A compound of every wrong that man can inflict upon man.

"They heard and were abash'd, and up they sprang Upon the wing."

They deserted their seats in the House-they addled together in a committee-room-sent for meeting of members from the slaveholding states are locally to that effect was offered by Mr. Prestor hey chose Mr. Patton of Virginia to present to the House, what he termed a conciliatory proposition, and after a speech laudatory to the conde- House, the same resolution, offered by Mr. Waddy scension of the slaveholders, for this gentle com-promise of their rights, to foreclose all answer, by and all his colleagues insisted perseveringly upon the House were suspended—the conciliatory pro-position was presented—the speech of proud and self-admiring condescension was made and concluded with the magnanimous call for the previous question-and the previous question, and the main of Representatives of northern and western freemen, palmed upon them by the slaveholding conventicle, to which they had not even been ad-

And what was this condescending conciliatory proposition? It was no other than the Pinckney oporific, which, in eighteen months of time, had multiplied the Anti-Stavery petitioners from twenty-three to three-hundred thousand. Its phraseoogy was slightly varied, and particularly by the omission of the word, resolutions from the classes of papers to be laid on the table, but the word papers was retained, and the exclusion of them all from the consideration of the House, was fortified by the addition of the words debated and read to printed and referred, from which they had been lebarred by the original resolution of May, 1836. There is no doubt that the omission of the word

resolutions, in the new opiate of the slaveholding doctors, was intended to save the appearance of disrespect to the Legislatures of the States; but when the resolutions of the Legislature of Vermont were presented, which touched the abolition of Slavery, and the buying, selling and transferring of Slaves, the Speaker decided, that as they were PAPERS they must be laid on the tuble, under the resolution of the 21st of December, 1837, and then with singular inconsistency, he ordered or allowed them to be printed on the Journal of the

And thus under this resolution of the 21st of December, 1837, the petitions of three hundred thousand citizens of the United States, were, with out being debated, printed, read or referred, laid on the table.

ing the annexation of Texas to this Union, were not included within the resolution of the 21st of December, and yet as they came into very close contact with the abolition of Slavery, and the buying, selling and transferring of slaves, a different expedient was found necessary in dealing with them. On the 13th of December, the first day of legation, including about fifty thousand petit immediately moved the reference to that commit-tee. His motive for which was afterwards fully disclosed by the treatment which they received from the committee when they were referred to The disclosed by the treatment which they received

I do not charge this as among the eviden tainly not on that of the Chairman of the committee. Duality of conduct is not always indicative of duplicity of purpose. The object of the Chairthe anti-Texian petitions and remonstrances to himself, and his recorded vote to lay his own motion upon the table, had obviously one and the same object, and that was the suppression of all discussion upon the subject in the House; and the motive for this desire of suppression could be no other than the affinity between the anti-slavery and anti-Texian memorials. He plainly saw that it would be impossible to introduce the annexation of Texas into discussion without opening the whole subject of slavery and of abolition, and he wished to build a Chinese wall around them all. But, although he was able to accomplish this by

a large majority at that early stage of the session, he was not able to carry that majority with him to its close. The proposal for the annexation of Texas to the United States, formally made by the people of that new republic, through the legislative and executive departments, had roused the at-tention of our own State legislatures. Ten or more of them, among which were several of the largest States in the Union, had made it a subject of ear-nestly contested deliberation. Five had declared in the most emphatic terms their utter aversion to the measure. Two more had expressed the feelings of their people in language not less decisive.

Four had passed resolutions favorable to the

connexion, and intensely bent upon its consummation. Nor had they scrupled to avow their principal incentive to this new union-the reinforce ment and perpetuation of the blessing of slavery, The resolutions of two of them, Alabama and Tennessee, had by express direction been communicated to both Houses of Congress-both contained instructions to their Senators and Representatives to promote by all suitable means the annexation, and those of Tennessee an express prostitutions exploded. Mr. Slade, in the course of his speech to support this motion, asked emphati-Congress, her Senators and Representatives were the fleetest in the race and the most ardent in the love chase for Texas. The recent conversion of most of them from the bitterest opposition to fervid devotion to the northern administration with south ern principles had given them claims to consideration which could not be overlooked. The most undaunted champions of the sub-treasury in the reinforcement of slave-representing members of House were three members from South Carolina; the Senate—publicly notified by one of themselves, and those who persisted in general opposition to in the Hall of the House of Representatives, at the administration, sought to propitiate their the moment of the adjournment of the House, a peace at home by outstripping the rest in burning rel assembly of Senators and Representatives, in the Senate, readily entertained by that body, and supported by all the eloquence for which that gentleman is so eminently distinguished. In the next morning hour it was executed. The rules of the House were suspended—the conciliatory propers, 'touching the abolition of slavery, or the buying, selling or transferring of slaves, still panted for a discussion in favor of the annexation of Texas. The majority for the suppression of the freedom of debate was thus throughout the session question, the conciliatory proposition, were carried dwindling into a minority, so far as concerned the without allowing one word of debate, by the votes annexation of Texas. The slaveholding portion of the committee of Foreign Affairs were left in the lurch; the Demosthenes of previous questions, and the Cicero of layings on the table were outvoted, as had been previously settled out of the House. It had been promised to one of the South Carolina members, and he had given me notice of it a week or ten days before the Report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs was presented.

The occasion for the discussion was given he that report. The committee had never looked into one of the resolutions of the State legislatures, or of the vast multitudes of petitions, memorials and remonstrances which had been referred to them by the House. They had not even taken them into consideration, and their report to lay them all on the table, revealed the purpose for which the Chairman at the commencement of the session had urged the reference of them to that committee,

The discussion was opened by the motion of Mr. Cushing, a member of the minority of the committee, to re-commit the Report with instruc-tions. Mr. Thompson of South Carolina moved an amendment to the instructions, and I moved an possession of the floor. A call for the previous question, and a motion to lay the whole subject on he table, were voted down by the majority of the House, and the door of free debate thrice closed in three successive years, in the Representative Hall of the American people, was unlocked and opened to the voice of freedom; God grant, never o be closed again.

By the rules for the transaction of business in the House, the debate was confined to the first hour of the morning, after the reading of the Journal. In courtesy to many of the members who had occasional motions of urgency to make, f yielded from day to day parts of this morning hour, o which I was entitled; but no such ind was extended to me. The expiration of the hour was watched with the impatience of a lover waiting the appointed time, and the tick of the clock was the signal to the call for the orders of the tlay. Once only I requested the favor of five minutes to finish the reading of a paper-it was tacitly grantders, and I was turned over to another day to finished but soon withdrawn by another call for

the reading of the paper.

As the close of the session drew near, the three slaveholding members of the committee, with whom I had taken issue on the duties of the committee and of the House to petitioners, and the right of petition, as exercised by men or wonen, became very earnest for an opportunity answer me. Several of the other me

er, upon the purpose avowed by decision to abridge the time of the on of the floor. They had now opportunity to meditate upon the consequences of their system of suppression of all free debate in the House. Whether they will return to it again at the ensuing session of Congress will be for themselves to determine. They ay close the doors of the House again upon free ebute if they please, for another southern conrihern men with southern principles, in obece to the usages of the party to quibble away ter equal completency to them, the freedom of ch in the House, and the right of their constients to petition.

My successive addresses to the House, on the

ments of the morning hour, from the 13th of the, when the Report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs was presented, till the 7th of July the last morning hour of the session, were reported alternately for the National Intelligencer, by Mr. A. Stansbury and Mr. W. F. Ous, two of the nost correct reporters ever admitted to the hall. But in the hurry of business, there was some transposition both of the order of time and of ceruments commented upon by me in the debate, which broke the links of connection between the several parts of my discourse, and threw its complicated, but not dislocated, argument into such confusion that no reader could as it was published disentangle its unbroken thread.

Desirous that you, my constituents, should fully informed of the manner in which I have fulfilled to the best of my ability the request of your convention of delegates, for my co-operation to promote the views exhibited in their resolutions of the 23d of August last, I have caused to be republished in a pamphlet, the whole debate upo the Report of the Committee of Foreign Affairs on the resolutions, petitions, memorials and remonstrances relating to the annexation of Texas to this Union. I propose to send a copy of this pamphlet to one or more persons in every town of this Congressional District. I wish them, and the people of this whole Commonwealth, and all the etitioners and remonstrants against the annexation to be apprized, that although that most pernicious measure has been for the present averted, and although the instigations to war with Mexico, by two successive Presidents of the United States, have hitherto proved abortive, it may yet require all your vigilance and all your lawful energies, eventually, to baffle and defeat the most insidious and profligate project of war and conquest, for the propagation and perpetuation of slavery, that ever disgraced any country.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Quincy, 13th August, 1838.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY, JR.

CINCINNATI

Tuesday Morning, September 11, 1838. IDENTITY OF MODERN AND ANCIENT ABO-

LITTONISM.

"Modern Abolitionism." This phrase grown vary popular, since the use made of it by the Methodist Episcopal General Conference of 1836. Since then, no scribbler or declaimer against abolitionists has failed to utter the magical phrase, without thinking that he had said a very keen thing. What a pity, that body of reverend gentlemen never thought of comparing ancient with 'modern abolitionism!' They were all ancient abo-They were none of your "modern abolitionists," not they! They were for treating slavery after you believe this plea entitled to some considerathe pattern of ancient abolitionism-ancient abo- tion?" Ask the masters-what say they? "Slaves

litionism was so dignified, courteous, sweet and can't take care of themselves-set them free, and innocent! Why, gentlemen, if an ancient aboli- they will cut our throats-they are mere wild tionist should by chance drop into one of your grave assemblies, you would be sure to mistake What! not after having been disciplined for 50 him for an Orange Scott or a George Storrs. You years by kind Christian masters-living for 50 know not whereof you affirm-you are no better acquainted with ancient, than modern aboli-We intend to occupy the space we have allotted

to ourselves this week, chiefly, in demonstrating the identity of these two forms of abolitionism. vainly imagined by our adversaries to be so dissimilar. We saw in a newspaper, the other day, the following advertisement.

"There's nothing new under the Sun! -The Connecticut Gazette and Universal Intelligencer' of August 6th 1776, contains the following advertisement, which shows how early the abolition of Slavery was sgitated in New Eng-

Lately published, and now selling by Judah P. Sp well, Esq., in Norwich, a Dialogue on the Slavery of the Africans; showing it to be the duty and interest of the American Colonies to emancipate all their African Slaves. With an address to the owners of such slaves. Dedicated to the Honorable the Continental Congress."

We happen to have in our possession a copy of this Dialogue, in which is also inserted some account of the Institution of the Society in New York, for promoting the manumission of Slaves. This Society, of which the Hon. John Jay was President, in 1785, ordered the printing of two thousand copies of the "Dialogue," and of course endorsed the doctrines and measures therein advocated. The little pamphlet therefore may fairly be quoted, as containing a correct expression of the views of that age with regard to slavery; a true exposition of ancient abolitionism. The Dialogue is sustained between "A." and "B."

"You Go Too Far." " " "You go too far," said the objector to ancient tionism; "this is not the proper time to attend to the subject." A half-century has gone by; a new generation of anti-slavery men have sprung up, they are the "moder, abolitionists." "You go too far," cry their opponents; "this is not the proper time to attend to the subject," True, some seven slave states have been admitted into the Union, slaves have quadrapled their number, large portion of the territory of the United States has been deliberately given up as an absolute possession of Slavery forever, and slave-holders have ad from a friendly power an immena e territory for the sake of opening a new slave-marke t. What of all this? Don't you see that, "this is not the time to attend to the subject?"

Taking new under the sun't-read the m the Dialogue, and banking

reely, expecting you will as freely propose the objection you shall have against any thing I shall advance. And ke leave here to observe, that if the slavery in which w hold the blacks, is wrong; it is a very great and public sin; and therefore a sin which God is now testifying egainst in the calamities He has brought upon us, consequently must be reformed, before we can reasonably expect deliverance, or ever sincerely ask for it. It would be worse than mad-ness then, to put off attention to this matter, under the notion of attending to more important affairs. This is acting like the mariner, who, when his ship is filling with water, neglects to stop the leak or ply the pump that he may mend his sails. There are at the lowest computation, 800.000 slaves in British America, including the West India islands; and a great part of these, are in the colonies on the eouaness and oppression; it must be a very great and cry-ng sin, there being nothing of the kind equal to it on the face of the earth. There are but few of these slaves, indeed in New England, compared with the vast numbers in the islands and the southern colonies; and they are treated much better on the continent, and especially among us, than they are in the West Indies. But if it be all wrong, and real oppression of the poor, helpless blacks, we by refusing to break this yoke, and let these injured creatures go free, do practically justify and support this slavery in general, selves in a measure at least, answerable for the wholes and we have no way to exculpate ourselves fro he guilt of the whole, and hear proper testimony against this reat evil, but by freeing all our slaves. Surely then, this matter admits of no delay; but demands our first, and most perious attention, and speedy reformation."

"B." recognized slavery as a national sin: so do ve. He regarded it as a crime, calling for the infliction of the just judgments of God: so do we. He considered that New England, by refusing to give liberty to her few slaves, endorsed the entire system of slavery, wherever existing, and became answerable in a great measure for all its evils: this is precisely our doctrine. The whole nation, by refusing to let the slaves go free in the District of Columbia, gives its sanction and support to the principle and practice of slavery, everywhere, and ecomes measurably answerable for all its train of fearful consequences. This is ancient, this is modern abolitionism."

Slave_Trade Wrong, but Slavery Right. Ancient pro-slavery is like modern pro-slavery is willing to admit that the slave-trade is wrong but can see no harm in that which is identical with it in principle, and its legitimate offspring-Slavery. Hear "A."

"A. I acknowledge the slave-trade, as it has been carried on with the Africans, cannot be justified. But I am not yet convinced that it is wrong to keep those in perpetual ndage, who by this trade have been transported from Africa ed to us, and are become our slaves.

"B." then attempts a description of the horro of the slave-trade, and at length concludes by exclaiming,-"But it is vain to attempt a full description of the oppression and cruel treatment these poor creatures receive constantly at the hands of their superiors, unmerciful, tyrannical, worse than Egyptian task-masters. Words cannot utter it." "A.." like a true modern pro-slavery man, somewhat disquieted by his own admissions, begins to palliate the villanous traffic.

One Blessing of the Slave-Trade.

".f. Sir, there is one important circumstance in favor of the slave-trade; or which will at least serve to counterbalance many of the evils you mention; and that is, we bring these slaves from a heathen land to places of gospel light and so put them under special advantages to be saved.

Ha!-ha!-ha! he is as merciful in his imaginings as Mr. Calhoun-he states the argument in favor of the slave-trade as fairly, as our friend "P. T.," of since. Nothing new under the sun! "Well, don't beasts-it will not do to give them their liberty." years under "gospel light"-enjoying for 50 years the "special advantages" of being taught how to behave themselves by a pious, righteous, republican people!

But let us have a part of "B."s answer.

"B. I know this has been mentioned by many in favor of the slave-trade: but when examined, will turn greatly against it. It can hardly be said with truth, that the West India islands are places of gospel light. But if they were, are the Negroes in the least benefited by it! Have they any access to the gospell . Have they any instruction, more than if they were beasts? So far from this, that their masters guard against their having any instruction to their utmost; and if any one would attempt any such thing, it would be at the risque of his life. And all the poor creatures learn of Christianity, from what they see in those who call them-selves Christians, only serves to prejudice them in the highselves Christians, only serves to prejudice them in the nignest degree against the Christian religion. For they not only see the abominably wicked lives of most of those who are called Christians, but are constantly oppressed by them, and receive as cruel treatment from them, as they could from the continent, in the southern colonies, and even to New Engso much to prejudice them against Christianity, that it is a very great wonder, and owing to an extraordinary divine interposition, in which we may say, God goes out of his common way, that any of them should think favorably of Chris tianity, and cordially embrace it. As to the most of them, no wonder they are unteachable, and get no good by the gospel; but have imbibed the deepest prejudices against it, from the treatment they receive from professed christians; prejudices which most of them are by their circumstances restrained from expressing; while they are fixed in the strongest degree in their minds.

a, were put under the best advantages to become Christians and they were in circumstances that tended to give them st favorable idea of Christians, and the religior profe art and though all concerned in this trade, and in sla ery in general, should have this wholly in view, viz. the becoming Christians, by which they should be eternally happy; yet this would not justify the slave-trade, or continappy, yet this would not list the wave-trace, or conti-nuing them in a state of slavery: For to take this method to christianize them, would be a direct and gross violation of the laws of Christ. He commands us to go and preach the gospel to all nations; to carry the gospel to them, and not to go, and with violence bring them from their native country, without saying a word to them, or to the nations from whom they are taken, about the gospel, or any thing that relates to it.

Some have been ignorant enough to attribute the estrictions imposed on the communication of knowledge to the slaves, to "modern abolitionism." They will learn from the foregoing, that those restrictions were in existence during the age of ancient abolitionism. Such restrictions spring from the very nature of slavery. This mo can only live by destroying the minds of its victims. Slave-holders from the beginning have been aware of this, and have succeeded but too well in the diabolical work of putting out the mental

"It can be proved, that since the war began, a proposal was made to send some blacks, who were qualified to teach Christianity, into the southern colonies, to teach the blacks there, and attempt to Christianize them: but the gentlemen who were better acquainted with the disposition of slave-holders, in those parts, discouraged the design, and said the masters of the blacks in general, would not suffer any such

eyes of their slaves. This is one of the "special advantages" these poor creatures have derived from being brought from a heathen to a christian land.

Standerous Charges of Ancient Abolitionism "Modern abolitionism" says, that slavery tend to make labor disreputable, to vitiate the character of the whites, to impoverish a country, and to verthrow republican institutions. So taught ancient abolitionism. Hear "B." and mark how 'hard" his language, how he ventures to "slander" his southern brethren.

"As to other suggestions, viz. That the blacks are ne essary to cultivate the lands in those hot climates, since the whites are not able to labor there, it may be observed, that there is not the least evidence of this, but much of the conrary. Whites are healthy, and do the labor in the East indies, which blacks do in the West, in the same climate; and that to much greater advantage, of which authentic se-counts have been published. The truth is, most of the whites which are born in the southern states, or the West Indies are not educated to labor, but, great part of them, in idleness and intemperance. The blacks are introduced to do he work, and it is thought a disgrace for a white person to get his living by labor. By this means, the whites in geeral are vicious, and all imbibe such a haughty and tyran sical spirit, by holding so many slaves, that they are about or, and many of them, rather a plague than a blessing to. all about them: And whole families are ruined for eve neans of this slavery. Whereas, if African slaves had d, or this slavery were now abolished; and every man had his farm or plantation, no more than he could cultivate to the best advantage, by help of his children. nd perhaps a few hired men; this would introduce industry, emperance and economy; the land would produce mu more than it does now; and the country be filled with ind rious, virtuous inhabitants, happy themselves, and blessing o all around them, instead of the comparatively few fami disgrace to human nature.—This brings the words of So-omon fresh to mind, Eccl. viii, 9. "There is a time, when ne man ruleth over another to his own hurt."

We cannot hesitate to say, this sage observation is veri ied in the most striking manner, and to the highest degree, n the slavery under consideration: If it is inc epublican principles, and tends to overthrow the liberty of those states, and introduce monarchy and tyranny, to have such slavery tolerated among us, and so many petty sovotic sway. Their children naturally imbibe those arbitrary principles, and grow up as unfit to be useful members of se free, republican states, as do the children of the most haughty monarchs on the globe. And those men rule over themselves to their own hurt, the misery and ruin of their

families, temporal and ETERNAL.

But if it should still be thought by any, or it be in fac rue, that those climates cannot be cultivated by whites; let it be remembered, that this is no justification of the horrid lave-trade, and slavery now practiced: But it is a good reason why the whites should abandon the places where they cannot live, unless it be on the blood of others, as good as hemselves; and renounce the business which is carried in the exercise of so much unrighteousness and cruelty. the blacks only can labor there, the lands are theirs, by right; and they ought to be allowed to possess them, as freemen, and enjoy the fruit of their labor.

Ancient Abolitionism said that the Partaker was as Bad as the Thief.

"Modern abolitionism" teaches that every hour the master withholds from the slave his liberty, he inflicts upon him a grievous wrong; that if the slave-trade be sinful, slavery must be sinful; that the partaker is as bad as the thief; that the fact that a human being has been robbed of his liberty and made a slave, gives no one a right to purchase or hold him as such; that holding the negroes in slavery is not only a practical justification of the slave-trade, but actually encourages and promotes it: that the only certain method of putting an end to this bloody traffic, is to abolish slavery; that there is a palpable inconsistency in resolving to import and buy no more slaves, and yet refusing to let those go free, whom we have already enslaved; and that we ought not only to give slaves their liberty, but ompensate them for the injuries we have done them, so far as we are able. "Modern abolitionism" too, places slavery in the same category, with robbery. Ancient abolitionism taught all Here is the proof.

"A. All this seems to be little to the purpose; since it wa grauted in the beginning of our conversation, that the sla e-trade, as it has been carried on is not to be justified. But what is this to the question we proposed to consider; which is. Whether it be wrong to hold the blacks we have among us in a state of slavery, or ought to set them free withou delay? To this you have said nothing as yet.

B. All I have said upon the slave-trade, to show the unrighteousness, the cruelty, the murder, the opposition to Christianity and the spread of the gospel among the Africans, the destruction of whole nations, and myriads of souls, which are contained in this horrid practice, has been prin-cipally with a view to a more clear and satisfactory determi-nation of the question before us, which you have now re-newedly proposed—For I think the following proposition may be advanced as undenship, viz. If the slave-trade be unjustifiable and wrong; then our holding the Africans and their children in bondage, is unjustifiable and wrong; and the latter is criminal in some proportion to the inexpressible baseness and cr. m nality of the former. For, Finst, If they have been brought into a state of slavery, v unrighteousness and violence, they having never forfeite heir liberty,or given any one a right to enslave and sell them; then purchasing them of these piratical tyrants, and hold-ing them in the same state of bondage into which they, contrary to all right, have brought them, is continuing the exercise of the same unrighteousness and violence towards ever they had, and to demand it of him who holds the oondage; and he denies them their right, which is of more worth to them than every thing else they can have in the world, or all the riches the unjust master does or can possess; and therefore injures them in a very high degree every hour he refuses or neglects to set them at liberty. Besides, Seconder, Holding these blacks in a state of slavery, is practical justification of the slave-trade, and so br in this iniquity, as to hold one of these a slave, who was unrighteously made so by the sons of violence. The old , "The partaker is as bad as the thief," carries such a plain truth in it, that every one must discern it: And it is

certainly applicable to this case.

It is impossible to buy one of these blacks and detain him a slave, without partaking with him who first reduced him to this state, and put it his power thus to possess him; and practically justifying him for so doing, so as to bring upon guilt of first enslaving him. It is not fore possible for any of our slave-keepers to justify the selves in what they are doing, unless they can justify the slave-trade. If they fail here, they bring on themselves an awful degree of the guilt of the whole.

Thinder, By keeping these slaves, and buying and selling the slave trade:

them, they actually encourage and promote the slave-trade. And therefore, in this view, keeping slaves, and continuing to buy and sell them, is to bring on us the guilt of the slave-trade, which is hereby supported. For so long as slaves are bought and possessed, and in demand, so long the African trade will be supported and encouraged.

A. But there is a stop put to the importation of slaves not the American Colonies, as they have resolved no more shall be brought. This being the case, the keeping those we have among us in slavery, is no encouragement to the slave-

B. I grant, if this resolution should be perpetual, and ex tend to the West Indies, it would discourage the slave-trade; so far as the Americans are concerned in it: But it would be more effectually discountenanced and condemned, if slavery was wholly abelished; and it cannot be consistently done without this. For if it be wrong to import, and buy them note, it was always wrong; and therefore they that are already slaves among us, are injured, and unjustly enslaved; and we have made them our slaves without the least right; and ught to retract it, and repair the injury done to them, so as is in our power, by setting them free, and compensating them otherwise, so far as we are able. There is therefore palpable inconsistency in resolving to import and buy no more slaves; and yet refusing to let those go out free, which we have already enslaved, unless there be some insuperable

mpediment in the way.

The whole I have said concerning the unlar recome our slaves be unlawful, may be illustrated by the fol-

become our slaves be unlawful, may be included a certain province, and took off most of their goods and effects, and carried them to a neighboring province, and sold them to the inhabitants; and and the robbers finding this encouragement, continued the practice for many years. At length the people of the injured province applied to their neighbors, who had their goods of the robbers, and were now in possession of them, and asked the robbers are the robbers, and were now in possession of them, and asked the robbers, and were now in possession of them, and asked the robbers, and were now in possession of them, and asked the robbers, and were now in possession of them, and asked the robbers, and were now in possession of them, and asked the robbers, and were now in possession of them, and asked the robbers in the robbers. them to restote what was taken from them by violence, and to which they had a good and indisputable right; it being

bless as very injurious and crue in But as they now had these goods in bar intended to keep them, and lookthey intended to keep them, under no obligation to deliver them up, and would probably perish a still to buy all the

To this the injured replied, "By partaking with these robbers in receiving the goods at their hands, you practically justify their conduct, and must share with them in their guilt. For by this means you encourage them, and are determined to go on to encourage them in this violence and rate. ine: And by condemning them, you equally condemn yourelves, and must remain under estore the goods we demand; and resolve never to purch

ny thus taken from us by violence."

Upon this they determined to purchase no more of them, but refused to deliver up what they had already got in possession But the oppressed told them, they did right in resolving to injure them no more in that way; but they were now very inconsistent with themselves, for if it were wrong to purchase any more, it was as wrong to withhold what they had already gotten in possession: And they had no other way to ustify themselves in detaining their goods, and to be conistent, but by proceeding to take whatever those robben hould bring to them in future, and justifying themselves 1 o doing, and the robbers in all their depredati

"Most potent, grave, and reverend seignors," his is modern as well as ANCIENT abolitionism. "The very head and front of our offending

And yet how your righteons souls eschew "ma lern abolitionism"! How fondly you recur to the days when men treated this delicate subject with the wisdom of serpents and harmlessness of doves! Doubtless, if you had lived in those days, you too would have been abolitionists. Hypocrites, that ve are! Deceivers and self-deceiving! Ye are children of them who denounced abolitionists; ye nherit their spirit and principles, and yet pretend garnish the sepulchres of those whom your faners hated. Do you remember the persecuting. cornful Pharisees? "Wo unto you, scribes and Pharisees: hypocrites! because ve build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish their sepulchres, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets. Wherefore, ye be witnesses unto yourselves that ye are the children of them which killed the prophets."

Ye scorners of "modern abolitionism", if ye "had been" in the days of your fathers, ye would have been advocates for the traffic in the souls and bodies of your fellow men, and partakers in its foul pro-

Ancient Pro-Slavery Quoted Scripture. The Devil seldom at a loss for a Text. Ancient pro-slavery men could quote scripture n support of slavery, as readily as their modern brethren. The Dialogue continues.

"A. This reasoning looks something plausible, I confes but the holy scripture approves of making and keeping slaves; and this surely is sufficient to keep us in counte

B. I hope you will not appeal to the holy scripture, in sup port of a practice, which you and every one else must allow to be so inexpressibly unjust, inhuman and cruel, as it the slave trade; and consequently so glaringly contrary to the whole tenor of divine revelation. And if the slave trade i such a grosa violation of every divine precept, 'tis impossi-ble to vindicate the slavery to which the Africans have been reduced by this trade, from the holy scripture. Of this we have such a certainty a priori, that it would be a horrid re proach of divine revelation, to pretend this practice can be upported by that; or even to look into it with any hope of xpectation of finding any thing there in favour of it, And construction in favour of this practice, we may be very cernot be vindicated by any thing we can find there; but is conwilling to hear what you can produce from scripture, in favour of any kind of slavery.

A. You know that a curse was pronounced on the poster ity of Ham, for his wickedness, in the following words—"A servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren." He could not be a servant unto his brethren, unless they made him so; or at least held him in servitude. The curse could not take place unless they executed it, and they seem to be by appointed to do this. Therefore while we, the childre of Japheth, are making such abject slaves of the blacks, the lenounced upon them; which is so far from being wrong it will of God, to refuse to make slaves of them, and attempt to

set them at liberty.

B. Do you think, my good sir, it was the duty of Pharao to make the Israelites serve him and the Ezyptians, and to afflict them, by ruling over them with rigour, and holding them in hard and cruel bondage, because God had expressly foretold this, and said it should be done! And was the As yrian king blameless while he executed the judgment which God had threatened to inflict on his professing people? Did God's .threatening them with those evils, warrant king to distress, captivate, and destroy them, as he did? And cause by this they fulfilled the scriptures, declaring that thus it must be? Your argument, if it is of any force, will assert nd justify all this; and therefore I hope, will be renounced by you, and by all who have the least regard for the holy

riptures, with proper abhorrence.

But if this argument were not so fraught with absurdity nd impiety as it really is, and it were granted to be forcible with respect to all upon whom the mentioned curse was de-nounced, yet it would not justify our enslaving the Africans, or they are not the posterity of Canaau, who was the only son of Ham that was doomed to be a servant of servants.—
The other sons of Ham, and their posterity, are no more
affected with this curse, than the other sons of Noah, and
their posterity. Therefore this prediction is as much of a for the Africans enslaving us, as it is for us to make slaves of them. The truth is, it gives not the least shadow

A. The people of Israel were allowed by God to buy and make slaves from the nations that were round about them, and the strangers that lived among them; which could not ave not we an equal right to do the same?

And again "A." says-

"But what will you do with those passages in the new tament which are in favour of slavery, and suppose chrisan masters to have christian slaves; and the masters are so is many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor."—I Tim. vi: 1. And in the following words supposes that believing masters had servants, whom he exhorts to serve such masters with the more cheerfulness, out of respect to their christian character."

"Nothing new under the sun"-Mr. Smylie nimself has not a clearer insight into the scriptural oundation of slavery.

ncient Abolitionism Produced Excitement, and Irritated the Slaveholder.

Ancient abolitionism produced "excitement," that fearful calamity, that bug-bear of modern antiabolitionists. Ancient abolitionism awakened the wrath and resentment of the master. Ancient abolitionism rebuked the church for its slaveholding, for its pro-slavery spirit, for its apathy to the woes of the oppressed. The church was as sensitive in those days as now. Just read what "B." says. and see how much ancient and "modern abolition-

"If it should be asked, why Canan should be singled out from the other sons of Ham, and cursed for the sins of his father? May we not conclude that the curse fell on all Ham's posterity, and that Canan only is mentioned, as including all the rest? It must be answered—No, by no means. We have no warrant to do this. The father sinned; and God might justly have cursed all his posterity. But in his wisdom and sovereign goodness, he cursed only one branch of the family. And how effectually this has taken place, the scripture informs us.

ism" are alike, in their views of the duty of the church. Speaking of the apostolic precepts—"Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal"-and, "If thou mayest be free, use remarks:

"This ap "This apostolic command, therefore, being properly regarded, would soon put an end to most instances of slavery in the christian church, if it did not wholly abolish it; escapelli pecially at this day, when many of the impe eing slaves, which were in the spostle's days, are removed. And it may be left to the consciences of all slave holders among us, whether, if it had been left to them, such direction and command would ever have been given to any servant whatever, as is here given by the apostle; and wheservant whatever, as is nere given by the apostie; and whether, now it is given, they approve of it, and practice accordingly. So far from it, that most of them, even professing christians, hold their servants at such a distance, and treat them in such a manner, that the poor servant dare not so much as treat with his master about his freedom; and if ne should say a word, is pretty sure to receive nothing bu angry frowns, if not blows. And if any one undertakes to plead the cause of these oppressed poor, whose right is turned aside in the gate, and they have no helper, he may expect to feel the resentment of almost every keeper slaves, who knows him. And is there one church now this land who are ready to do what is in their power to obtain the freedom of the slaves which belong to the are willing calmly to consider and debate the question whether it be right to hold the Where is the church that has done an thing of this kind!* And how few churches are to be found, that would not be greatly disturbed, and filled with resentment, if the question were seriously proposed, and urged to be considered?

Let none who are conscious all this is true, urge the

apostle Paul's authority in favor of the slave-keeping which is practised in British America.

Ancient Abolitionism Charged with Making the Slaves Discontented.

Ancient pro-slavery men charged ancient abolitionists with making the slaves dissatisfied with their condition-they wished ministers of the gospel would only be as prudent as the apostles of Jesus Christ. Herein they proved themselves the

true progenitors of our modern pro-slavery divines. "A. You well observed that the apostles did not intermeddle with the affair of slavery, so as to condemn masters for holding their slaves, or tell the servants their masters had no right to keep them in bondage; but ought to free them, &c. wish all were as wise and prudent now; especially ministers of the gospel. But all are not so. Many make such a clamour about holding our Negroes in bondage; and some nisters of late have said so much in public about freeing our slaves, and have so inveighed against the African slave trade, and even keeping our blacks in slavery, that many of the negroes are become very uneasy, and are much gaged to obtain their liberty than they used to be.

I think, if any thing be said on this subject, it should ! n private; and not a word of this kind should be lisped in the hearing of our servants; much less ought ministers to say any thing about it in public; lest the blacks should all take into their heads that they are treated hardly, and never be easy

B. answers like a "modern abolitionist."

traces the uneasiness of the slave to its proper sources; believes in the duty of both private and public testimony against slavery; represents the grievances the colonies contended against "as lighter than a feather," compared with the slavery of the negroes; insists that ministers of the gospel ought not to hold their peace, but cry aloud against the sin of oppression; charges on slaveholders a desire to abridge the freedom of discussion; and lets us into the secret, that ministers in those days were afraid to do their duty, through fear of the slaveholder, or because they themselves were the owners of slaves. Mark the "hard language" of

"B. It has been observed, there were reasons peculiar to the ate of things at that time, why the apostles should not be so particular on this head: which reasons do not take place now The slavery that now takes place is in a Christian land, and without the express sanction of civil government: And it is all of the same kind, and from one original; which is most otoriously unjust; and if it be unrighteous in one instais most apparent, and most masters have no colour of claim eir servants in bondage. And this is become a general and crying sin, for which we are under the awful frown be a good reason of a different conduct; and make it duty to oppose, and bear testimony, both in public, and more pri-vately, against this evil practice, which is so evidently injuous to individuals, and threatens our ruin as a people.

As to making servants uneasy, and desirous of liberty, &c.

ed that they are greatly injured and oppressed; that they re reduced to a state of slavery, without the least colour of justice. They have sense and discerning enough to be sensible of this, without being told; and they think much of it almost every day, though they are obliged to keep it to them-selves, having none to pity them, or so much as hear their complaints. They have a thousand times more discerning and sensibility in this case than their masters, or most others. And their aversion to slavery, and desires of liberty, re inextinguishable. Therefore their hearing it asserted hat they ought to be set at liberty, gives them no new light nd conviction, except it be that he liscerning of what they have long known, and most sensibly felt; and has courage enough to assert that in their favor, which they have long felt the truth of; but dared not so much as lisp it out. But if by this means any of your serants should be more fully convinced of their right to liberty, and the injustice done them in making them slaves, will thi e such a dreadful evil? Would you desire they should be held in ignorance, that you may exercise your tyranny without opposition or trouble from any quarter? As reasonable might Pharach be angry, and complain of Moses and Auron, for saying a word to those whom he had reduced to slavery,

bout their cruel bondage, and their obtaining their liberty. It has always been the way of tyrants to take gre pains to keep th ir vassals in ignorance, especially to hide rom them the tyranny and oppression of which they are the ubjects. And for this reason they are enemies to the lberty of the press, and are generally provoked when their conduct is set in a true light before the public, and the unrighteousness they practice properly exposed. The com-plaint we are now considering, seems to be of the same kind with this, and well becomes all those petty tyrants who have slaves in their possession, which they are co not vindicate; but the unrighteousness will be detected, free enquiry and freedom of speech cannot be suppresse And this complaint is of the same kind with the conduct of masters in the West Indies, in opposing their being taught any thing of christianity; because they know every gleam of this light carries a discovery of the unrighteousness of the

reatment they receive.
The present situation of our public affairs, and our struggle for liberty, and the abundant conversation this occasions in all companies; while the poor negroes look on and hear what an aversion we have to slavery, and how much liberty is prized; they often hearing it declared publicly and in private, as the after of all that slavery is more than the adventument. as the voice of all, that slavery is more to be dreaded than death, and we are resolved to live free or die, &c. &c. This, I say, necessarily leads them to attend to their own wrete ed situation, more than otherwise they could. They see themselves deprived of all liberty and property, and their children after them. to the latest posterity, subjected to the will of those who at pear to have no feeling for their misery. and are guilty of many instances of hard heartedness and cruelty towards them, while they think themselves very kind; and therefore to make the least complaint, would be eemed the height of arrogance and abuse: And they have a comparatively good master now, with constant dread they see a young one growing up, who bids fair to rule ver them, or their children, with rigour.

They see the slavery the Americans dread as wor

death, is lighter than a feather, compared to their heavy doom; and may be called liberty and happiness, when contrasted with the most abject slavery and unutterable wretchedness to which they are subjected. And in this dark and dreadful situation, they look round, and find none to help dreadful situation, they look round, and find none to helpno pity—no hope! And when they observe all this cry and
struggle for liberty for ourselves and children; and see themselves and their children wholly overlooked by us, and behold the sans of liberty oppressing and tyrannizing over
many thousands of poor blacks, who have as good a claim
to liberty as themselves, they are shocked with the glaring
inconsistence, and wonder they themselves do not see it.—
You must not therefore lay it to the few who are pleading You must not therefore by it to the tew who are pleading the cause of these friendless, distressed poor, that they are more uneasy than they used to he, in a sense of their wretch-ed state, and from a desire of liberty; there is a more mighty and irresistible cause than this, viz. all that passes before them in our public struggle for liberty.

Since the first edition of this Dialogue, a number of churches in New England have purged themselves from this iniquity, and determined not to tolerate the holding of the Africans in slavery. If all the churches in these United States would come into the same measure, and imitate the Friends, called Quakers, in this article, would they not act more like Christian churches than they now do!

And why should the ministers of the gospel hold their peace, and not testify against this great and public iniquity, which, we have reason to think, is one great cause of the public calamities we are now under! How can they refuse public calamities we are now under! How can they refuse to plead the cause of these oppressed poor, against the cruel oppressor? They are commanded to lift up their voice, and cry aloud, and abow the people their sins, &c. Have we not reason to fear many of them have offended Heaven by their silence, through fear of the masters, who stand ready to make war against any one who attempts to deprive them of their slaves; or because they themselves have slaves, which they are not willing to give und

they are not willing to give up?

Might they not fully expose this iniquity, and hear a constant testimony against it, in such a manner as would have no tendency to influence our servants to behave ill in any espect, by giving them at the same time proper cautio

Ancient Abolitionism Regardless of Consequences. Ancient pro-slavery men objected that "it would not do to turn the slaves all free at once -it would injure them as well as the public. Ancient Abolitionists argued, if slavery be a sin, its abolition could not be urged with "too much zeal." 'attempted too soon, whatever difficulties are in

the way." Now this is precisely that doctrine of doing duty, simply because it is duty; of walking "by faith," and not "by sight," which has brought so much odium upon "modern abolitionists." For this they have been mocked by wise men and mobbed by fools. And yet, this is the doctrine which distinguished ancient abolitionism, that very abolitionism which certain "fathers and brethren" are ready to hug to their bosoms, so happily does it contrast with the "modern" species.

"A. It is impossible to free all our negroes; especially at once, and in present circumstances, without injuring them, at least, many of them, and the public to a great degree. Why then is this urged so vehemently now? I think this proceeds from a zeal, not according to knowledge.

B. If it be not a sin, an open, flagrant violation of all the rules of justice and humanity, to hold these slaves in bondage, it is indeed folly to put ourselves to any trouble and expense, in order to free them. But if the contrary be true, if it be a sin of crimson dye which is most particularly pointed out by the public calamities which have come upon us, from which we have no reason to expect deliverance till we put away the evil of our doings, this reformation cannot be used with too much zeal, nor attempted too soon, whatever difficulties are in the way. The more and greater these are, the more zealous and active should we be in removing them.— You had need to take care, lest from selfish mot backwardness to give up what you unrighteously retain, you hackwardness to give up what you diligate are joining with the slothful man to cry, "There is a lion in the way! A lion is in the streets!" While there is no inble difficulty, but that which lies in your own

forming an evil practice of this kind, which has got such deep root by length of time, and is become so com t it does not yet appear that they cannot be removed, by the united wisdom and strength of the American colo without any injury to the slaves, or disadvantage to the pubcontrary is most certain, as the not be put into a more wretched situation, ourselves being judges, and the community cannot take a more likely step to escape ruin, and obtain the smiles and protection of Heaven. This matter ought doubtless to be attended to by the General Assemblies, and Continental and Provincial Congresses; and if they were as much united and engaged in devising ways and means to set at liberty these injured slaves, as they are to defend themselves from tyranny, it would soon be effected. There were, without doubt, many difficulties and impediments in the way of the Jews liberating those of their brethren they had brought into bondage in the days of Jeremiah. But when they were besieged by the Chaldeans, and this their sin was laid before them, and they were threatened with desolation if they did not reform, they broke through every difficulty, and set their servants at liberty.

And how great must have been the impediments how many the seemingly unanswerable objections, against reform-ing that gross violation of the divine command in Ezra's ne. by their marrying strange wives, of which so many of the Jews were guilty, and the hand of the princes and reters had been chief in this trespass! Yet the pious zeal of Ezra and those who joined with him, and their wisdom and indefatigable efforts conquered every obstacle, and brought them to a thorough reformation. slaves? Surely we have no reason to conclude it cannot be done, till mong all orders of men, and answerable attempts are tho

Let this iniquity be viewed in its true magnitude, and in he shocking light in which it has been set in this conversaion; let the wretched case of the poor blacks be considered with proper pity and benevolence; together with the probable dreadful consequence to this land, of retaining them in bond-age, and all objections against liberating them would vansh. I'he mountains that are now raised up in the imagination of many, would become a plain, and every difficulty

Pharaoh and the Egyptians could not bear to think of tting the Hebrews go out free from the bondage to which they had educed them; and, it may be presumed, they had as many weighty objections against it, as can be thought of against freeing the slaves among us. Yet they were at out free; and to be ready to part with any thing they had, in order to promote it.+ If many thousands of our children were slaves in AL-

riers or any part of the Turkish dominions, and there were ut few families in the American colonies that had not some child, or near relation in that sad state, without any hope of freedom to them, or their children, unless there were some very extraordinary exertion of the colonies to effect it; how would the attention of all the country be turned to it!— How greatly should we be a sected by it! Would it not become the chief topic of conversation? Would any cost or labor be spared, or any difficulty or hazard be too great to go through, in order to obtain their freedom? If there were no greater difficulties than there are in the case before us; yes, if they were ten times greater, would they not be soon sur-mounted, as very inconsiderable? I know you, sir, and every one else, must answer in the affirmative, without hesita-tion. And why are we not as much affected with the slavery of the many thousands of blacks among ourselves. whose miserable state is before our eyes? And we not be as much engaged to relieve them? on is obvious. 'Tis because they are negroes, and fit for nothing but slaves; and we have been used to look on them in a mean, contemptible light; and our educati has filled us with strong prejud ces against them, and led us to consider them, not as our brethren, or in any de-gree on a level with us; but as quite another species of animals, made only to serve us and our children; and as happy in bondage, as in any other state. This has banishall attention to the injustice that is done them, and any proper sense of their misery, or the exercise of benevolence towards them. If we could only divest ourselves of these strong prejudices, which have insensibly fixed on our minds, and consider them, as by nature, and by right, on a level with our bretaren and children, and those of our neighhors, and that benevolence, which loves our neighbour as our-selves, and is agreeable to truth and righteousness, we should hegin to feel towards them, in some measure at least, as we should towards our children and neighbours in the case afrom toward of control of the contro

mu discress, and will cheerfully be at almost any cost a poins to procure his liberty: and we wouder not at it, but think their exercises and engagedness for his deliverance very just, and stand ready to condemn him who has no feeling for them and their son, and is not ready to afford all the assistance in his power, in order to recover them. At the same time we behold vest numbers of blacks among us, torn from their native country, and all their relations, not to serve on board of a man of war for a few years, but to be abject, despised slaves for life, and their children after them; and yet have not the least feeling for them, or desire of their freedom! These very parents, perhaps, have a number of negro slaves, on whom they have not the least pity; and their their control of the least pity; and their control of the least pity; what ready highly to resent it, if any one esponses their cause so much as to propose they should be set at liberty.

What reason for this partiality? Ought this so to be? An impartial person, who is not under the prejudices of interest, education and custom, is shocked with it beyond all expression. The poor negroes have sense enough to see and feel it, but have no friend to speak a word for them; none to whom they may complain.

It has been observed, that if the General Assemblies, &c. these American colonies would take this matter in handof these American cottonies would take the hand-in earnest, with a concern and resolution answerable to its real importance; and the whole community were properly, disposed and engaged, the freedom of the slaves among us-might soon be effected, without injury to the public, or those

†It may be well worthy our serious consideration, whother we have not reason to fear the hand of God, which is now stretched out against us, will lie apon us, and the strokes grow heavier, unless we reform this iniquity, so clearly pointed out by the particular manner in which God is correcting use and is correcting us; and whether we have any reason to hope or pray for deliverance, till this reformation takes place.

who shall be set at liberty; but greatly to the advantage of both. But if this should be neglected, will is excuse indi-riduals who hold claves, in their continuing to hold them in who hold claves, in their continuing to hold them in the line of them in the line of the l sion for the emancipation of all slaves there? If any oppor-tamity should present to obtain their liberty, would you not greedily embrace it, though at much hazard and ex-pense? And if their master should refuse to let them go free, till there was a general emancipation of the christian slaves in that country, would you justify him as acting a proper, humane, and benevolent part? I trow not, How then can you excuse yourself, and deliver your own soul, while you have no compassion for these black children in your house, and refuse to 'reak the yoke, the galling yoke, m off their necks, because your neighbors will not

just and humane to theirs!

Some masters say they will give up their slaves, if all masters will do the same; but seem to think they are excused from setting theirs free, so long as there is not a general manumission. What has just been observed is suited, I manumission. Besides, if manumission. What has just been observed is suited, I think, to show the insufficiency of this excuse. Besides, it you desire to have all our slaves freed, why do you not set an example, by liberating your own? This might influence others to do the same; and then you might, with a good grace, plead the cause of these poor Africans. Whereas, while you retain your own slaves, your mouth is stoped, and your example serves to strengthen others, and keep them in countenance, while they practice this abominable oppression."

Ancient Abolitionism regarded Slavery as Rob bery.

"The right of property," "indemnity," &c. were talked of in those days.

Ancient abolitionism repudiated all such no tions; demonstrated slavery to be robbery; denounced the slaveholder as hypocritical, "amazingly inconsiderate and stupid"; and told him, that so far from demanding compensation, he was bound to compensate the slave. Is it possible that the abolitionism of '76 was so "modern," so violent, so denunciatory, so fanatical, so ultra? Eyen so-and yet you are not a "modern" abolitionist, not you; you are one of the "good old stamp." Read.

"A. My servants have cost me a great deal of money, and it is not reasonable I should lose all that. If the public will indemnify me, and pay me what my servants are worth, I am willing to free them; and none can reasonably desire to

am witting to the consideration.

B. If your neighbour buys a horse, or any beast, of a thief who stole it from you, while he had no thought that it was stolen, would you not think you had a right to demand your horse of your neighbor, and pronounce him very unjust, if he should refuse to deliver him to you, till he had received the whole sum he had given for him? And have not your servants as great a right to themselves, to their liberty, as you have to your stolen horse? They have been stolen and sold, and you have bought them, in your own wrong, when you had much more reason to think they were stolen, than he who bought your horse had to mistrust he was trading with a thief. Though your horse has passed through many hands, and been sold ten times, you think you have a right to demand and take him, in whose soever hands you find him, without refunding a farthing of what he cost him; and yet, though your Negroes can prove their right to them-selves, and constantly make a demand upon you to deliver them up, you refuse till they pay the full price you gave for them, because the civil law will not oblige you to do it .--

-Thou Hypochits! Luke xiii, 15.

Had you not been amazingly inconsiderate and etupid you would have concluded these men were stolen? and known that no man had a right to sell them, or you to buy them: And must they be for ever deprived of their right, which is worth more to them, than all you possess, because you have been so foolish and wicked as to buy them, and no one appears to prevent your losing by the bargain! You would do well to consider the awfull denunciation by Jere-miah. Wee unto him that buildeth his house by unright courses, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neigh-bor's rervice without wages, and givelh him not for his work! He who refuses to free his Negroes, that he may save his money, and lay it up for his children, and retains his sares for them to tyrannize over, leaves them but a misera-ble inheritance—infinitely worse than nothing!

Besides, if indifferent persons were to judge, it would fouttless be found that many of your servants, if not all uch more than earned what they cost you; some of them double and treble, yea, ten times as much; and in this view, you ought to let them go out free; and not send them away empty; but furnish them liberally out of your store, agreeably to the divine command; they have a much better

Ancient Pro-Slavery said, that Slaves Cost More than they Earned.

Modern slaveholders talk about the wastefulness of slaves-"they do not pay for their victuals and clothes." And yet they will advertise two or three hundred dollars reward for their apprehension, if the unprofitable creatures run off. "The thing that is has been."

"A. You speak of servants earning so much; but for my part, I think not so much of this. Mine have never bee uch profit to me, and most of them do not pay for their victuals and cloaths, but are constantly running in debt. B. The master is not a proper judge in this case. How com son is it for men who hire others, to complain that the labourers do not earn the wages they give; and that they are continually losing by all the labour they hire? And it it were wholly left to him who hires what wages he should give the labourer, and he was accountable to none, how soon would his hire be reduced to little or nothing. The lordly selfish employer would soon find out that his labourers hard-ly earned the food he was obliged to find them. Let your erested, judicious neighours, judge between you and your servants in this matter, and we will give credit to their rely on yours, as you seem not really to believe it yourself looks like a contradiction to your own declaration and practice. For you have been speaking of your servants as of as much worth to you, at least, as their first cost and represented it as giving up your interest, if you should free them without a compensation. Whereas, if what you now say be true, you will lose nothing by freeing them immedi-ately; but rather get rid of a burden now on your hands.—

lay! Your hold ng them in slavery, is a practical contra-diction to what you have now suggested.

I grant, what is evident to all the discerning who attend it, that the introduction of such a number of slaves among us is a public detriment, an injury to the common-wealth; and therefore, in this view, the practice ought by means to be discouraged and abolished by our legislators This, however, is consistent with individuals getting estates by the labour of their slaves; and that they are in fact, in instances, very profitable to their owners, none can de not so, I should be very certain of obtaining what I am pleading for, even a general manu-

And if this be true, why do you not free them without de-lay? Your hold ng them in slavery, is a practical contra-

Ancient Abolitionism Denounced Slaveholding for its Cruelties.

Next follows a discourse on the treatment o slaves. "A.," in the true spirit of a modern proslavery man, insists that the slaves are well treatcould, &c. &c. The answer of a "modern abolitionist" could not be more to the point than that of B.

"A. You have repeatedly spoke of our slaves being hardly treated and abused. There may penhaps be some instances of this among us; but I believe they are generally treated very well and many of them much better than they deserve. My servants, I am sure, have no reason to complain; they live as well as I do myself, and in many research batter.

B. We will take it for granted, for once, that all you have and is true, and that your staves are treated as well as they are beld in a state of slavery. But will the atone for your making them your slaves, and taking best living, but all the riches on earth, and is as much to be ed as life itself, THEIR LIBERTY! As well, yea, with from whom he has taken all his money, he has no reason to complain, since he had spared his life, which was at his mercy inor had wounded him, nor stripped him of his cleaths; and so away pleaned with the about the had treated nerey mor has wounded tim, nor stripped till or the closely, and go away pleased with the thought that he had treated m with great kindness and generosity.

If a ruffian should seize, ravish and carry off a young vir-

m all her relations and friends, into some lonely cave wilderness; and when he got full possession of her old treat her with great kindness, providing for her

tment of her, that she had all the comforts of life, and ived better than himself, &c. Would not this be so far from justifying him in the eight of the world, or being the least excuse for his barbarous treatment of her, that his of-fering it as such, would be considered as a striking evidence of his stupidity; and that he was an unfeeling, inhumane-wretch! Whether such an instance is in any measure ap-plicable to the case before us, I leave you to judge.

But I must now ask leave to take buck, what was just no ranted; and observe, that you are not a proper judge of rour treatment of your slaves; and that you may think you treat em very well, when in some instances at least, if not in a way, they justly think themselves used very hardly d to many hardships, which you would being really subjected to many narusnips, which you being really subjected to many narusnips, which you were in their place, or serve sensibly feel and resent, if you were in their place, or uld see one of your children a slave in Algiers treated se by his master. There are but few masters of slaves, I be ve, who do not use them in a hard, unreasonable manner n some instances at least; and most do so in a constant way; so that an impartial, attentive by-stander will b who the the master is wholly insensible of any wrong. They who from us have visited the West Indies, have beheld how servants are used by their masters there, with a degree of horror, and pronounced them very unrea-sonable and barbarous; while the master, and perhaps his other domestics have thought they were used well, being accustomed to such usage, and never once reflecting that the customed to such usage, and never once reflecting that these blacks were in any sense on a level with themselves, or that, they have the least right to the treatment white people may reasonably expect of one another; and being habituated to view these slaves more beneath themselves, than the very beasts really are. And are we not, most of bs, educated in these prejudices, and led to view the slaves among us, in such a mean, despicable light, as not to be sensible of the abuses they suffer; when, if we or our children should receive such treatment, from any of our fellow, men, it would exceed the treatment, from any of our fellow men, it would appear ter rible in our sight? The Turks are by education and custom taught to view the Christian slaves among them so much beeath themselves, and in such an odious light, that while they are treating our brethren and children, we being judges, in the most unreasonable and cruel manner, they have not one thought that they injure them in the least degree,

Are you sure your slaves have a sufficiency of good food season; and that they never want for comfortable cloath ing and bedding! Do you take great care to deal as well by them in these things, as you would wish others would treat your own children, were they slaves in a strange land? I our servants complain, are you ready to attend to them Or do you in such cases frown upon them, or do something worse, so as to discourage their ever applying to you, whatever they may suffer, having learned that this would only be making bad worse! Do you never fly into a passion, and deal with them in great anger, deciding matters respecting them, and threatening them, and giving sentence concerning them, from which they have no appeal, and perhaps proceed correct them, when to a calm by stander you appear more it to be confined in Bedlam, than to have the controulable dominion over your brethren, as the sole law giver, judge, and executioner? Do not even your children domineer over your slaves? Must they not often be at the beck of an ungoverned, peevish child in the family; and if they do not run at his or her call, and are not all submission and obedience, must they not expect the frowns of their mas-

ters, if not the whip?

If none of these things, my good Sir, take place in your family, have we not reason to think you almost a singular instance? How common are things of this kind, or worse, taking place between masters and their slaves? In how few stances, if in any, are slaves treated as the masters would wish to have their own children treated, in like circumstan-How few are fit to be masters? To have the sovereign dominion over a number of their fellow men, being his property, and wholly at his disposal; who must abide his ence and orders, however unreasonable, without any possibility of relief!

A. I believe my slaves are so far from thinking themselves abused, or being in the least uneasy in a state of slavery, that they have no desire to be made free; and if their freedom were offered to them, they would refuse to accept it.

B. I must take leave to call this in question, Sir; and think you believe it, in contradiction to all reason, and the strongest feelings of human nature, till they have declared it themselves, having had opportunity for due deliberation, and he ng in circumstances to act freely, without the least

There are many masters, (if we believe what they say,) who please themselves with this fond opinion of their podness to their slaves; and their choice of a state of slavery, in preference to freedom, without the least foundation, and while the contrary is known to be true by all who are acquainted with their slaves. If they really believe this, they by it only discover great insensibility, and want of proper reflection. They have not so much as put themselves in the place of their slaves, so as properly and with due sensibility to consult what would be their own feelings, on such a supposition. Have they themselves lost all desire of freedom? Are they destitute of all taste of the sweets of it; and ha e they no aversion to slavery, for nemselves and children? If they have these feelings,

But it seems most of these masters do not fully believe hat they so often say on t them offer freedom to their servants, and give them opportunity to choose for themselves, without being under the mos distant constraint. And if they then deliberately choose to will be fully decided, an ontinue their slaves, the matte they may continue to possess them with a good conscience." Slaves are generally under such disadvantages and restraints, that however much they desire liberty, they dare no so much as mention it to their masters. And if their maste should order them into his presence, and ask them whether they had a desire to be made free, many would not dare to declare their choice, lest it should offend him, and instead of obtaining their freedom, bring themselves into a more evil case than they were in before, as the children of Israel did. by desiring Pharaoh to free them.

In this case such precaution ought to be taken, as to give

he slaves proper assurance that they may without any danger themselves, declare their choice of freedom: and that it hall be done to them according to their choice. Ancient Abolitionism Knew Nothing of Gradualism or Colonization,

"A." objects that the "slaves, if emancipated, annot take care of themselves." The answer of B." is full of "modern abolitionism." Gradualism is not in all his thoughts-Colonization is not in all his thoughts-the honor of this lucky discovery was reserved for the ancient abolitionists of this generation. The degradation and ignorance of the slave, which furnish to the slaveholder a plea for perpetuating slavery, and to the gradualist of the nineteenth century, a reason for naintaining slavery until the victims be prepared for freedom, constituted the chief reasons with ancient abolitionists for urging its abolition at once. Where now are the foes of "modern abolitionists"? Shame upon their ignorance!

" A. If slaves in general were made free, they would so e in a worse state than that in which they now are. Many m know not how to contrive for themselves, so as t get a living; but must soon be maintained by their forme masters, or some others: And others would make themselve wretched, and become a great trouble to their neighbor and an injury to the public, by their unrestrained vices.
This would doubtless be the case with most of mine, were they set free; and some of them are by no means able to

aintain themselves.

"B. I confess this objection, at first view, seems to have ome weight in it. But let us examine it, and see if it be sufficient to hold so many thousands in slavery, and their children after them, to the end of the world. Would you slavery man, insists that the slaves are well freated—that his slaves, for instance, are even better off
than bimself,—that they would not be free if they ip your own children to this, to be slaves forever to any one who should be willing and able to purchase them, if the were as vicious, or helpless as you suppose many of the blacks would be if set at therty? I am sure you will not answer in the affirmative, And by answering in the negative, as I know you must you will entirely remove the rea son you have now offered for holding the blacks in this slavery; till you can show why the latter should be treated so very differently from the former, which I am confident

you will not attempt.

"A state of slavery has a mighty tendency to sink and ontract the minds of men, and prevent their making im wovements in useful knowledge of every kind: It sinks the aind down in darkness and despair; it takes off encourage ents to activity, and to make improvements, and maturally ands to lead the enslaved to abandon themselves to a stupic carelessness, and to vices of all kinds. No wonder then the blacks among us are, many of them, so destitute of prudence

and sagacity to act for them so destitute of prudence and sagacity to act for themselves; and some are given to vice. It is rather a wonder, there are so many instances of virtue, prudence, knowledge and industry among them. And shall we, because we have reduced them to this abject, baluless, miserable state, by one converted. helpless, miserable state, by our oppression of them, make this an argument for continuing them and their children in this wretched condition? God forbid! This ought rather to excite our pity, and arouse us to take some effectua method without delay, to deliver them and their children from this most unhappy state. If your own children wen

recty necessary and comfort she could have in that situation. And when he was told of his violence and crueky, and urged to restem her to her former liberty; he should expect to release her, and 4e justify himself alledge his kind of his children.

n this situation, would you offer this as a good reason why hem yourself? Would you not be willing to take the best are of them in your power, and give them all possible encoragement to behave well; and direct and assist them in proper methods to get a living? I know you would. And why will you not go and do likewise to your slaves? This leads me to observe, that our distresses are come upon us in such a way, and the occasion of the present war why will you not take off the galling yoke from their necks, as in the most clear and striking manner to point and the property and adverted to their old oppression, and again brought their freed servants into bondage.

This leads me to observe, that our distresses are come upon us in such a way, and the occasion of the present war. why will you not take a managery to point their necks, and restore them to that liberty, to which they have as good a claim as you yourself and your children; and which has been violently taken from them, and unjustly withheld by you to this day 1. If any of them are disposed to behave ill, and make a had use of their freedom, let them have all the motives to behave well that can be laid before them. Let them be subject to the same restraints and laws with other freemen; and have the same care taken of them by the publishment of the same restraints and they good and the general voice is, "We will die in the attempt, rather than anymit to slavery." But are we at the same treatment to point the same to point and the sin of holding our blacks in slavery, and amazingly guitty if we refuse. God have raised up men to attempt to deprive us of liberty; and the evil we are threatened with is slavery. This, with our vigorous attempts to avoid it, is the ground of all our distresses, them be subject to the same care taken of them they have a subject to the same care taken of them they have a good and the sin of holding our blacks in slavery, and amazingly guitty if we refuse. God have raised up men to attempt to deprive us of liberty; and the article with ourselves, and amazingly guitty if we refuse. God have raised up men to attempt to deprive us of liberty; and the article with ourselves, and amazingly guitty if we refuse. God have raised up men to attempt to deprive us of liberty; and the subject to the same care taken of them to the sin of holding our blacks in slavery, and amazingly guitty if we refuse. nd restore them to that liberty, to which they have as good claim as you yourself and your children; and which has men; and have the same care taken of them by the pub-. And be as ready to direct and assist those who want liscretion and assistance to get a living, as if they were your own children; and as willing to support the helpless, infirm and aged. And give all proper encouragement and assistnce to those who have served you well, and are like to get good living, if not put under peculiar disadvantages, as freed legroes most commonly are: by giving them reasonable wages for their labor, if they still continue with you, or liberally furnishing them with what is necessary in order to heir living comfortably, and being in a way to provide for hemselves. This was the divine command to the people of [srac]; and does it not appear, at least, equally reasonable, in the case before us? When one of their brethren had rved them the number of years that was specified, they vers commanded to let him go out free; and then the fol-owing injunction is added: "And when thou sendest him out free from thee, thou shalt not let him go away empty : Thou shalt furnish him liberally out of thy thy floor, and out of thy wine press: Of that wherewith the LORD thy GOD hath blessed thee, thou shalt give unto im." Deut. xv. 13, 14.

If all who have slaves, would act such a just, wise, and enevolent part towards them, and treat them in any measur as they would desire their own children and near relation hould be treated, our slaves might all be set free, without any letriment to themselves or the public; and their master would be so far from losing by it, that they would be abund antly rewarded for all their benevolence to these injured pool And if our legislators would lend their helping hand, and form such laws and regulations, as shall be properly suited to protect and assist those that are freed, and anner to deter and restrain them from vicious courses, and courage their industry and good behavior; this would t in additional security to the public against any imagined evil consequence of a general manumission of our slaves: and but a piece of justice to these poor dependent creature whom we have made so by our own unrighteousness and ppression. This would encourage masters to free their ives, and leave the objection we are now considering without the least shadow of foundation."

Ancient Abolitionism Recognized Scarcely Any Obstacles as Insuperable.

"Modern abolitionists" are very often met by the objection, that the legislatures have fettered the slaveholder, and will scarcely suffer him to manumit his slaves. This objection is as old as '76 and received just such an 'answer fram an ancient abolitionist, as "modern abolitionism" approves.

"A. You are doubtless sensible, Sir, that the legislature these colonies, are so far from giving this encouragement to manumit our slaves, that the laws are rather a clog or hin-drance to any thing of this kind, as they require the master o give security for the maintenance of his slaves, if they hould ever want any assistance, before he is allowed to make

B. I am sorry to say there is too much truth in this. ope our legislatures will soon attend with proper concern o this affair; and in their justice, wisdom and ter upon measures which shall encourage and effect a gene al emancipation of our slaves.

But if this should not be, I think it appears from the ourse of this conversation, that this will not excuse those who have slaves from setting them at liberty, even though they should be obliged to maintain them all their days. If slave-holder can lay his hand on his breast, and sincere y say, if his children were slaves at Algiers, he would no

him still hold his slaves in bondage with a quiet conscience Otherwise, I see not how he can do it," Ancient Aboliticalism Admitted of no Pleas for Postponement-

sire their master to free them, unless he could do it, with-

"A." next objects, that the "attention and exerion" of the people were "so much turned to the defence of themselves, and civil war had introduced so much calamity and confusion, that it "was te impossible there should be any proper of the public, so as to make those provisions and regulations" which would be necessary in the event tion to the Lord, of emancipation. But B. can see no reason in all this for postponing so important an act of justice. He is a genuine immediateist, and yet a fair specimen of ancient abolitionists -- a true disciple of th.t old school for which our modern opponents profess reverential a regard. It is true, that B. alludes being transported to Africa, but simply in view of because they cannot or ought not to remain free among the whites. But he lays no stress on the idea. He is as far from Colo ization, as heaven s from earth. His great object is to have the slaves emancipated, emancipated without delay, and emancipated, to remain in the country, among the whites, being employed and protected, as free laborers. This was ancient abolitionism. Hear

B. I think the facts you have now alleged, as rea against freeing our slaves at present, will, if duly considered, afford arguments for the very thing you are opposing. The slaves who are become unprofitable to their masters, by the esent calamitous state of our country, will be with the less eluctance set at liberty, it is hoped; and if no public provision be made for them, that they may be transported to ther country; or be removed into hose places in this land where they may have profitable business, and are wanted, now so many are called from their farms to defend our country. I say, if this be not done, the masters, by freeing them would lose nothing by it, even though they continue to sup port them, till some way shall open for them to help them elves. I must here again desire every owner of slaves to make their case his own, and consider, if he or his children were unjustly in a state of slavery, whether he should think such an objection against their being set at liberty of any weight? Would he not rather think it reasonable that the asters who had held them in bondage, against all right and eason, would consider their being, by an extraordinary proidence, rendered unprofitable to them, as an admonition preak off their sins by righteousness and their iniquity by shewing mercy to these poor? And that it ought to be reater satisfaction to them, thus to do justice without delay. and relieve these oppressed poor, than to possess all the riches, honors and pleasures of this world? And if these nasters should disregard such an admonition, and neglect this opportunity to set them at liberty, putting it off to more convenient season, would it not be very grievous t him, and overwhelm him in despair of their ever doing it.

Is it not very certain that they who make this objection ngainst freeing their slaves without delay, would not free em, if the times should change, and they again become profitable! If they must maintain them, can they not do it as well when they are free, as while they are slaves; and ought they not to do it with much more satisfaction?

And as to the public, all necessary regulations and provimight easily, and very soon he made even in our pre sent distressing circumstances, effectually to emancipate all our slaves, were the minds of men in general properly im-pressed with their misery, and they sufficiently engaged to do ju-tice and show mercy."

absolutely necessary something should speedily be done with respect to the slaves among us, in order to our safety, and to prevent their turning against us in our present struggle, in order to get their liberty. Our oppressors have planned to gain the blacks, and induce them to take up arms against us. by promising them liberty, on this condition; and this plan they are prosecuting to the atmost of their power, by which means they have persuaded numbers to join them. And should we attempt to restrain them by force and severity, keeping a strict guard over them, and punishing them severely, who shall be detected in attempting to join our op-posers; this will only be making bad worse, and serve to render our inconsistence, oppression and cruelty, more criminal, perspicuous and shocking, and bring down the righteou rspicuous and snocking, and oring the only way pointed nee of Heaven on our heads. The only way pointed prevent this threatening evil, is to set the blacks at ourselves, by some public acts and laws; and then give them proper encouragement to labor, or take arms in dialogue, these words defence of the American cause, as they shall choose. This would at once be doing them some degree of justice, and defeating our enemies in the scheme they are prosecuting.

This objection might be arged with much greater show of reason by the inhabitants of Jerusslem, against freeing their very smooth of themselves arough infirmity of budy, or want of mental capacity; and there of them were very vicious, would you have them sold not a state of slavery for this? or would you make slaves of them wourself? Would you not be willing to take the best this, they had respite, and would have obtained a final definition of them in work them all receipts and they not returned to their old conversion.

than submit to slavery." But are we at the same time mak ing slaves of many thousands of our brethren, who have us good a right to liberty as ourselves, and to whom it is as sweet as it is to us, and the contrary as dreadful! Are we erable state of slavery hold them in the most abject, m without the least compassionate feeling towards them of their posterity; utterly refusing to take off the oppressive yoke! Oh, the shocking, the intolerable inconsist And this gross, barefaced inconsistence, is an open practical condemnation of holding these our brethren in slavery; and in these circums ances the crime of persisting God's sight; so that all the former thrighteo cruelty exercised in this practice, is innocence, compared with the awful guilt that is now contracted. And in sion to the words of our Saviour, it may with great truth and propriety be said, "If he had not thus come in his Provi-

any reason to expect deliverance from the culamities we are under? May we not rather look for slavery and destruction, like that which came upon the obstinate, unreformed Jews? In this light, I think, it ought to be considered by rgument, not to put off liberating our slaves to a more con venient time: but to arise, all as one man, and do it with all our might, without delay since delaying in this case is awfully dangerous, as well as unspeakably criminal. This was ember, and I am glad of an opportunity to co

A. You have repeatedly spoken of the attempt that is made to oppress and enslave the American colonies, and the calamities this has introduced, as a judgement which God has brought upon us for enslaving the Africans, and say we have no reason to expect deliverance, but still greater judgments, unless this practice be reformed. But is not this sup-position inconsistent with the course of Divine Providence nce this war began ? Have we not been strengthened and succeeded in our opposition to the measures taken against us, even beyond our most sanguine expectations; and a series of events, very extraordinary, and almost miraculous have taken place in our favor, and so as remarkably to dis appoint our opposers, and baffle them in all their plots and attempts against us. How is this consistent with the above supposition ? If these calamities were brought on us for ou sin in enslaving the Africans, and the expression of God's displeasure with us on that account, would be in such a sig-nal manner appear on our side, and favor, protect and prosper us; even so that those of our enemies, who are conside ate and attentive, have been obliged to acknowledge God was for us; I say, could this be, while we persist in that

practice so offensive to him?

B. When I speak of our being under the divine judgments for this sin of enslaving the Africans, I do not mean to exclude other public crying sins found among us, as in-piety and profaneness—formality and indifference in the piety and profaneness—formality and indifference in the cause of Christ and his religion—and the various ways of opposition to it—intemperance and prodigality; and other instances of unrighteousness, &c., the fruits of a most criminal contracted selfishness, which is the source of the high-hunded oppression we are considering. But this is a sin most particularly pointed out, and so converse to our boly religion in every view of it, and such an open violation of al the laws of righteousness, humanity, and charity, and so contrary to our professions and exertions in the cause of liberty, that we have no reason to expect, nor can sincerely ask deliverance, so long as we continue in a disposition to hold fast this iniquity. If we should be delivered while we continue in this evil practice, and obstinately refuse thoroughly to execute judgment between a man and his neighon to oppress the stranger, the fatherlese, and the w dow, we should, agreeably to the spirit of what you have just said, improve such deliverance, as God said, the Jews would have done, had he delivered them, while they refused to reform. "Will ye steal, marder, &c., and come and stand before me in this house, which is called by my name, and say, We are delivered to do all these al inations?*" Surely this is not to be

ion to the Lord,

But your objection is worthy of a more particular answer,

It has been observed, that there has been a general resolution to suppress the slave trade in these colonics, and to import no more slaves from Africa. This is a remarkable instance of our professed regard to justice, and a wise and notable step towards a reformation of this evil; and, as has been observed, a complete reformation will be the unavoidable consequence, if we will be consistent with ourselve reason can be given for suppressing the slavefor the first time, to the possibility of the slaves trade, which is not equally a reason for freeing all those who have been reduced to a state of slavery by that trade; and that same regard to justice, humanity, and mercy, which no public provision being made for them, and not will induce us to acquiesce in the former, will certainly oblige us to practice the latter. Have we not, therefore, reason to think that the righteous, and infinitely merciful Gov ernor of the world, has been pleased to testify his wellpleasedness with regard to righteousness and mercy which we professed, and appeared to exercise, in refusing to imtion of all the slavery practised among us, by appearing in our side in the remarkable, extraord nary manner you have nentioned; by which wonderful interposition in our favor, ne has at the same time given us the greatest encourage nent not to stop what we have begun, but to go on thorough reformation, and act consistently with ourselves, by breaking every yoke, and doing justice to all our oppresed slaves; as well as to repent of and reform all our public sins ! So that God is hereby shewing us what he can do for us, and how happy we may be, under his protec-tion, if we will thoroughly amend our ways, and our doings; and loudly calling us to a thorough reformation, in this mo

kind and winning way,
But if we obstinately refuse to reform, what we have in olicitly declared to be wrong, and engaged to put away the nolding the Africans in slavery, which is particularly pointed out by the evil with which we are threatened, such a glaring contradiction to our professed aversion to sla ery, and struggle for civil liberty; and improve the favor God is shewing us, as an argument in fovor of this iniqui-ty, and encouragement to persist in it, as you sir, have just ow done; have we not the greatest reason to fear, year may we not with great certainty conclude, God will yet withdraw his kind protection from us, and punish us yet even times more? This has been God's usual way dealing with his people; and who can say it is not most reasonable and wise? He then acts the most friendly part to these colonies and to the masters of slaves. vell as to slaves themselves, who does his utmost to effec general emancipation of the Africans among us. And and on this subject, if nothing better is like to be don published and spread through all .the colonies, an had the attentive perusal of every American.

An Address to Slaveholders

Appended to the Dialogue, is an Address to nerican slaveholders. A few extracts from it will help to confirm our proposition, that ancient and modern abolitionism" are identical, in doctrine.

Ancient Abolitionism teaches that all are Guilty. "The several legislatures in the colonies, the magistrates, and the body of the people have doubtless been greatly guilty in approving and encouraging, or or least conniving at this practice. Yea, every one is in a measure guilty, who has been inditentive to this oppression, and unaffected with it, and neglected to bear proper testimony against it. And it is granted, the public ought to go into some effectual measures to liberate all the slaves, without laying an unreasouable burden on their masters. But though t such neglect will not excuse you in holding them in slavery; as it is in your power to set them free, and your indispensible duty, and really your interest, to do them this piece of justice, though others should neglect to assist you

Ancient Abolitionism Teaches that Slaveholder are not the Proper Judges.

"And here it cannot be improper to remind you of your lia-leness to strong prejudices, which tend to prevent your see-ig what in itself may be very plain. Our divine teacher says. Every one that doeth evil, hateth the light, neither cometh "Every one that doeth evil, hatch the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved." If you are indeed doing evil, according to the import of the preceding dialogue, these words of Christ are so applicable to you, and are suited to awaken your jealousy of yourselves, and lead you to attend to the subject with great concern, circumspection, and carnest prayer to the Father of lights, for that

scerning wisdom, by which you may, in the case dependdiscerning wisdom, by which you may, in the case depending, come to the knowledge of the truth. And is is not worthy your serious consideration, that they who are not interested in this practice; and have no slaves, are generally, if not every one, fally enwineed it is wrong? Are they not as least many of them, as capable of judging in this matter, as you your elves are; and therefore more likely to judge right than you, as shey are uninterested and impartial?"

Ancient Abolitionism teaches that Emancipatio ought to be Immediate, Universal, and Doonditional.

"A general assembly of one of these colonies," "e ex-pressed their conviction of this inconsistence, and so it as t reason for freeing our slaves, in the following words, Whereas, the inhabitants of America are generally engaged in the preservation of their own rights and libertic among which that of personal freedom must be considered a the greatest; and as those who are desirous of enjoying a the advantages of liberty themselves, should be willing to extend personal liberty to others: Therefore be it "enacted," &c. —— Is it possible that any one should not feel the irresistable force of this reason 1. And who would be willing to practice this glaring self-contradiction, rather than let herevants go out free even though he should hereby give the greatest part of his living, yes, every penny he has in the world! With what propriety will such inconsistent apprears he addressed, by Him before whom masters and the slaves will shortly stand, as their impartial judge? "On of thine own mouth will I condemn thee, thou wicked sen

Ancient Abolitionism Denounces

propriety be said, "If he had not thus come in his Providence, and spoken unto us, (comparatively speaking) we had not had sin, in making bond slaves of our brethren; but now we have no cloak for our sin."

And if we continue in this evil practice, and refuse to let the oppressed go free, under all this light and admonition, suited to convince and reform us; and while God is evidently correcting us for it, as well as for other sins, have we any reason to expect deliverance from the culamities we are "Be entreated also to consider, how very offensive to Louv, Execute judgment in the morning, and deliver him that is oppressed out of the hand of the oppressor, lest my wed thus, it affords a most forcible, formidable to put off liberating our slaves to a more conjugate to put off liberating our slaves to a more conjugate to put off liberating our slaves to a more conjugate to put off liberating our slaves to a more conjugate to put off liberating our slaves to a more conjugate to put of liberating our slaves to a more conjugate to the stranger wrong fully.— And I sought for a man among them, that should make up the hedge, &c,—but I found none. Therefore have I poured out my indignation upon them," &c,—Amos ii. 6. "Thus beginning of our conversation, you may result as a subject to the found in the liberation of liberating the liberation of liberation of liberation of liberation of liberation of liberation of liberating the liberation of liberatio they sold the righteous for silver, and the poor for a pair of shoes." Zech, vil. 9-14. "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, saying, Execute true judgment, and shew mercy and com-passion every man to his brother. And oppress not the widow, nor the fatherless, the stranger nor the poor; and let none of you imagine evil against his brother in you heart. But they refused to hearken—yea, they made the hearts as an adamant stone,—Therefore came a great wratt

Are not the African slaves among us the poor, the strang ers, the fatherless, who are oppressed and vexed, and sold for silver? And will not God visit and punish such oppression? Are you willing to be the instruments of bring-ing judgments and ruin on this land, and on yourselves and ies, rather than let the oppressed go out free?"

Ancient Abolitionism Uses Hard Language. "How can we attend to the voice of God in these sacred vritings, and not see that you are most clearly pointed out. And will you be affronted, or even disregard us, while we intreat and conjure you, by all that is important and sacred, so far to regard these threatenings and promises, and pursue your own highest interest and that of the public, as to let your oppressed slaves go out free! Do not say, "This is too great a sacrifice for us to make; who will indemnify us. if we give up our servants? The sovereign owner of all hings has promised you indemnity; yea, infinitely from the awful curse that comes upon the op pressor; and his protection and blessing. And here it may be proper to remind you of the divine answer to the king of ladah, when, being ordered to dismiss the mercenaries he had procu ed to assist him, he asked, what he should do for the hundred talents which this army had cost him? the man of God answered. The Lord is able to give the much more than this." 2 Chron. xxv. 6—9.

Consider also, how very inconsistent this injustice and op prescion is with worshiping God through Christ, and attend ing on the institutions of religion; and how unacceptable and abom nable these must be, while you neglect to let the oppressed go free, and refuse to do justice and love mercy.

The bible is full of declarations of this kind;
"To do justice and judgment, is more acceptable to the
Loun than sacrifice." Without the former the latter is
nothing but gross hypocrisy, and abomination to God: for
he "will have mercy and not sacrifice." He requires no devotion, or attendance on any religious right or institution, which is inconsistent with mercy, or that is done without And when we consider, that Christianity is the greatest in-stance and exhibition of righteousness and mercy that was ever known, or conceived of: and the great author of it is, in the most eminent and glorious degree, THE JUST Got AND THE SAVIOUR; we shall not wonder that no offering can be acceptable to him, which is without the exercise and

without mercy, that hath *thewed no mercy."*You who are professors of religion, and yet the owners of slaves, are intreated well to consider, how you must appear in the sight of God, and of all who view your conduct in true light, while you attend your family and public devotion and sit down from time to time, at the table of the Lord, I your neighbor wrong you of a few shiftings, you think utterly unfit to attend that sacred ordinance with you; but what is this, to the wrong you are doing your brethren, who you hold in slavery! Should a man at Algiers have a num per of your children his slaves, and should by some mean become converted, and become a professor of Christianity would you not expect that he would soon set your children him about it, and offered abundant light and matter of con victien, of the oppression and cruelty of which he was guilty he should be deaf to all you could say, and resolve to hold them and their children in slavery, what would you think of him, when you see him at his prayers, and attending a the Lord's Supper? Would you think he was more accept the Lord's Supper? able to God, than if he neglected these institutions, and yet and been so just and merciful, as to set all his slaves a iberty ? Yea, would you scruple to say, his devotion and attendance on the holy supper were hypotrisy and abomination 1 If Nathan the prophet was here, he would say, Ancient Abolitionism taught, that in '76 th

"times of ignorance had gone by"-so that Slaveholders could not plead even then, want of Light, as an Excuse.

It is granted this oppression has been practised in ignorance by many, if not the most, who have been owners of slaves: and though this has been a very criminal ignorance; yet possessors of religion, and real christians may have lived in this sin through ignorance consistent with sincerity and so as to be acceptable to God; through Jesus Christ, in their devotions, &c. But though God has in time passed. suffered us, ignorantly, to walk in this wicked way, he is now using special means to open our eyes, and, commands all, every where, to repent of this iniquity.—
And they who persist in this sin, in opposition to the clear light, and alarming admonitions which are now set before us, will greatly aggravate mere two sounds. Thereby give just reason to suspect the sincerity of their possession. Some who are in the scriptures declared to be good men, lived in evil pretices, consistent with their single in their attendance on divine institutions; in which us, will greatly aggravate their own guilt, if they do not practices no christian can now live, consistent with his christian character; because we enjoy much greater light than they had, and these evil ways are more fully exposed and

*RHODE ISLAND. This is a presentle to a proposed act "prohibiting the importation of Negroes into this colony, and asserting the rights of freedom of all those born or manumitted within the same." It is observable, at first that the reason given for this act, is equally reason for actually freeing att the Negro slaves in the colony, without delay. As Rhode Island has been moderally interested in the slave-trade, and has easlaved mo of the poor Africans, than any other colony in New-England, it has been to the honor of that colony, that they have lately made a law prohibiting the importation of any mark slaves. How becoming, homosphe, and happy would it have been, had they acted up to the truth asserted in the preamble mentioned, and taken the lead of all the united Since the above was published, the General Assembly of

that State, have made a law, by which all the blacks born in it after 1784, are made free. And the masters who have slaves under 40 years old, are authorised to free them, with-out being bound, or liable to maintain them, if afterwards they should be unable to support themselves.

 See to the same purpose, isa. iii. 14, 15, x. 1.4.
 Jer. v. 27—29, 7. 6, 7. xxii. 13—17. Amos. iv. 1, 2.
 v. 11, 12, viii, 4—8. + Read Isa. lviii, and chap, i. v. 10-18. Amon. v. 21-

The Manumission Society of New York, with

information of the public." We learn from them, that ancient abolitionists not only insistes that the slave should be dimencipated, and the "without delay," but that he should be suffered to remain in the states, and share equally with the white man, "that civil and religious liberty," for which our fathers had just been contending. They were in fact, just such men as our very dignified and courteous opponents are bound by their principles to denounce as visionary, violent, hair brained enthusiasts, ultraists, fanatics, in a word-MODERN ABOLITIONISTS."

The following is a part of the extract referred To built the blace decree.

"It is our duty, therefore, both as free enixens and christians, not only to regard with compassions the injustice done to those among us who are held as slaves; but to endeavor, by lawful ways and means, to enable them to share Equally with us. IN THAT CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, with which an indulgent providence has blessed these states, and to which these our brethren are, by nature, as much entitled as ourselves."

Our fathers, thank God! were not Colonization sts. Colonization is a "modern" humbug: One more specimen of ancient abolitionism

To the Honorable Members of the CONTIN-ENTAL CONGRESS, Representatives of the THIRTEEN UNITED AMERICAN COLONIES.

MUCH HONORED GENTLEMEN, WINE As God the great father of the Universe, has made you the fathers of these Colonies: and in answer to the players of his people, given you counsel, and that wisdom and Integ-rity, in the exertion of which, you have been such great and extensive blessings, and obtained the approbation and extensive olessings, and obtained the appropriation and applicate of your constituents, and the respect and veneration of the nations in whose sight you have acted, in the important noble struggle for LIBERTY: we naturally look you in behalf of more than half a million of persons in these Colonies, who are under such a degree of op-pression and tyranny, as to be wholly deprived of all civil and personal liberty, to which they have as good a right as any of their fellow men, and are reduced to the most abject state of bondage, and slavery, without any just The righteous and merciful governor of the

given the greatest encouragement to go on, and thoroughly execute judgment, and deliver the spoiled out of the hand of the oppressor, both in his word, and in the wonderful fitings he has done for us since we have began to reform this public inlquity. But if we stop here, what will be the conse-

It is observable, that when the Swiss were engaged in It is observable, that which they so remarkably suc-their struggle for liberty, in which they so remarkably succeeded, they entered into the following public realise: "No Swiss shall take away any thing by violence from maother neither in time of war, nor peace." How reasonable and, important is it that we should at this time heartily enter into. and thoroughly execute such a resolution! And that this implies the emancipation of all our African slaves, surely

In this view, the following dialogue is humbly effered to your perusal, hoping that it may have your approbation patronage.

May you judge the poor of the people, save the children of the needy, relieve the oppressed, and deliver the spoiled out of the hands of the oppressor; and be the happy instruout of the hands of the oppressor; and be the happy instru-ments of procuring and establishing universal Lynnurs to white and black, to be transmitted down to the latest poster ity! With high esteem, and the most friendly sent We are, honourable Gentlemen,
Your very humble servants, of mut off

THE EDITORS

"But if we stop here, what will be the consequence?" Why, in 1838, there will be three millions of slaves rattling their chains under the starspangled banner; there will be thirteen slave states. pledged to the death to perpetuate an iron grinding system of oppression, while just at their doors the shouts of half a million of disenthrafted captives, freed by the mandate of that power whose armies we have defied, shall make them tremble for the love and exercise of mercy; but rejects all such prayers their daring usurpation; their statesmen shall boldly vindicate their prerogative to rob a whole race of the most precious rights of humanitys the churches and their leading divines shall justify by the word of the Most High this execrable and iremense system of wrong and outrage; slavery shall be styled the corner-stone of the temple of liberty heaven's own institution, illuminated and blessed by the smiles of the Almighty; a friendly power shall be robbed of a vast territory, and Virginia North Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee, shall grow rich by raising slaves, whose bones shall fatten the plains of Texas; the free states shall be smitten with blindness, and their tongues shall be dumb, while this horrible wickedness shall be carried on with a high hand; the nation shall be brought into bondage by the spirit of slavery: mobs shall spring up at its bidding, to persecute to the death, men bold enough to assail slavery as wrong; the cliurches in the north shall think they do God service, when they neglect the cause of the dumb and suffering, and muzzle the mouths of those who would plead for the helpless slave; and Congress itself, no longer the steadfast, terrible for of tyranny, shall tremble and hang its head when slavery speaks, and at the bidding of the slave-driver, gag its own members, annihilate the right of petition, and league itself with the insidious and cruel designs of the oppressor. The nine vises dille talk

Such, could these ancient abolitionists have been favored, or rather cursed with prescience; are the 'consequences," which would have frightened their free spirits. These consequences have forlowed, just because our fathers stopped, when they had achieved their own liberties, and ceased to feel for those whom themselves were oppressing; they followed because the voice of ancient abolitionien was not regarded. What consequences will be witnessed, fifty years hence, should the warnings and entreaties of "modern abolitionism" be neglected? Let its adversaries BEWARE.

. The reader is desired to observe, that the first edition of this dialogue was published early in the year 1776, before the declaration of our Independence. +Dr. Zunur's Short account, p. 41

The foregoing article, contrary to our expectation, has occupied so much space as to exclude almost every thing else. News from the West Indies have at length been received of the most encouraging character, but we are compelled to lay them over till our next number.

CINCINNATI, PRICE CURRENT.	
Flour	, are well are 186 to 6 80 per bil. 1 0
Wheat,	, we hand here are a 98 c. per bush. foot
Corn,	
Oats,	And Man 278 of 18
Hay,	"nev \$10 d to a 12 per ton. all so'll
Hops,	. 12 to 15 c. per lb.
Coffee, Ri	12 to 15 c. per lb.
Tes, G. P	
" Y. H	and thon, yourse friend by one stradelors in
Sugar, N.	of taken how divide 18 too me without madeller
Candles, s	nd. 19 to 13
4 6	p. toftaged a 10.1-2 to 11.1-2 th ta vene of
Butter,	12 1-2 to 18
Cheese	9 10 10

Then swell the choral strain, To hail the blest decree, Rejeice! Rejoice! the PRESS shall reign, And all the world be free,

The following also, was written on the same occasion; and sedemn denunciations and prophetic warnings may we take .fmcrican oppressors tromble.

Celebration Ode. By PROSPER M. WETNORE, Esq. A voice on every wave. A sound o'er every seal.
The war-note of the brave-The anthem of the free! From steep to steep it rings,
Through Europe's many climes— A knell to despot Kings, A sentence on their crim From every giant hill, companion of the cloud, The startled echo leaps to give it back aloud:

Where'er a wind is rushing-Where'er a stream is gushing-The swelling sounds are heard, Of man to freeman calling-Of broken fetters fullingid, like the carol of an uncaged bird, he bursting shout of Freedom's battle-word!

Spirit of Freedom! from thy home, Beneath our western skies, We gave thee forth the shackled earth to roam-That red oppression's heart might quail, And shuddering tyranny grow pale, Before the lightning of thine eyes! Thy course hath been a glorious one-For mations now are basking in thy light, That, ere the trial, deed was done, Were grovellers in being's night, Upstarting from their sleep, They grasp the dooming brand, And, vengeance-nerved, the spoilers sweep From off the trampled land; They give them not to death—contempt can punish n

wningly and stern they wave them from the shore.

From the North's frozen regions, Ice-fettered in gloom-Where slavery's legions Are wailing their doom; From Italy's clime, The brightest of earth-Where man lives in crime, From Spain's death-like trance, And from Portugal's blight; We turn to thee, France! And we turn with delight, Where the eyes of our fathers were turned-To the land of the warm-hearted Gaul! Where dimly the flame on their altar-stones burned And their hopes were as dark as the pall-To the land of the noble in soul, The mighty in spirit and name, Where vengeance hath listened to reason's control

And the doom of the tyrant was-shame!

Had been poured o'er regenerate France like a flood!

Oh! deeper and darker that doom, than if blood

Spirit of Freedom! on-Oh! pause not in thy flight, Till every clime is won To worship in thy light; Speed on thy glorious way, And wake the sleeping lands-Millions are watching for thy ray, And lift to thee their hands Stiff, onward! be thy cry-The banner on the blast-And like a tempest as thou rushest by, Despots shall shrink aghast: On! till thy name is known Throughout the peopled earth, On! till thou reign'st alone Man's heritage by birth;

On! till from every vale, and where the mor The beacon lights of Liberty shall kindle to the skies. Lines Written in the Album of a Young Lad-

BY J. C. WHITTIER. have been permitted, without the knowledge of the author of the following beautiful stanzas, to copy om for publication, and take great pleasure in present to our readers.—Eds. Her. & Sent.

To A. L. P. Jr. The weary pen which shrinks from tracing A line upon the gilded page, Which beauty and which fashion proffers The trifle of a trifling age;-

Where Bards whose lips have never tasted The gushing fount of Helicon, Mar with their vain and love-sick fanc The virgin sheet they scrawl upon; Where Plattery holds the glass for Beauty,

And love is linked in Folly's hand, And Reason, Truth, and Wit are scarcer Than fruit or flower in desert land;-Where every coxcomb, who can copy

A page of rhymes, appends his name-A pilfering candidate for fame!

That pen is now with pleasure sweeping The humble page of modest youth, Where Plattery's wing has never shade The beauty of the Brow of Truth.

Thou 'mind'et me of the days departed-The haunts of home—the simple joy The trustful quietade of spirit-

Alast for those calm-hearted mo No throbbing brow—no pulse of pain-But Instinct took the place of Duty, And Love, not Resson, held the rein.

A sterner lot our Manhood bringeth-The wrestling down of passions strong The chastening of a haughty spirit

Yet on our-pathway, wild and ragged, Our Heavenly Father scatters flowers, ool fountains guelt in sun and shadow, And Music fills the way-side bowers.

For He, who leveth all, hath given' Strength equal to our weary day; and, when the path we tread is darkest Lends to our feet His guiding ray!

And thou, young friend, whose shadeless forthead A few brief summer sum have seen—
Whose pathway yet is smooth and quiet,
Sheltered and calm and brightly green; So may'st then live, that when hereafter Life's thornier path before thee lies,

The fruits and flowers of Paradise,

When all the outward rests in shadow,
And storm and darkness cloud the sky—
The peacs of heart which no man giveth
May, dove-like, in thy bosom lie.

So shalt thou e'en in Manhood's trial, Know in thine heart a holier joy Than that which now enrobes in sun The light heart of a cheerful boy,

Life's Autumn-day the hues of Spring-The blessing of thy Heavenly Father,
Thy shield, and staff, and sheltering wing! Philadelphia, 4th. Mo. 14th, 1838.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CORRESPONDENT PERIODIC CIRCU-LAR OF THE COLLEGE OF TEACHERS. The Annual Convention of the College of Teach ers will be held on the first Monday in the ensuing

October, 1838, in Cincinnati.

The Executive Committee in the discharge of their duty, beg leave to invite your attendance and co-operation. Impressed with a deepened sense of the immeasurable importance of an early and thorough development and progressive culture of the intellectual and moral powers of juvenile minds, of rational and accountable beings—who are to constitute the succeeding generation, and to whose free agency is to be committed their individual, social, and political destiny—they wish to lay open the views and the objects which have animated them with ardor in the progress of their course, as well as the encouraging success which has hitherto resulted from their earnest efforts to promote extensively and enduringly, the glorious and hallowed

cause of patriotism, philanthropy, and religion.

Experience in the profession of teaching has a bundantly confirmed them in the persuasion that the human mind without cultivation resembles the earth on which we tread; from which, with all the variety of soil and exposure to varied temperature, we might in vain expect rich crops of life-sustain ing grain and fruit, without previous preparation and fostering care; so in the intellectual field, equally vain were it to expect that maturity-of sound mental discrimination—of those refined sym-pathies which endear cultivated society—of that moral elevation which "rises and looks down upor the law"—and of that permanent bond of order, equal rights, and mutual good feeling ensured by a wise, chosen, and faithfully administered free government, can be obtained, without the aid of early instruction and discipline, and the sustaining control of competent and faithful educators. To provide such educators, as the most essential means of promoting the interests of education, has been from the first, and continues to be, the earnest object of their solicitude, and their ardent aim.

This institution owes its origin to a few devoted professional Teachers, who in 1831 united for the purpose "of promoting by every laudable means the diffusion of knowledge in regard to education," and "especially by aiming to elevate the character and profession of Teachers to their just, intellectual and moral influence on the community," and though feeble were its first efforts, yet time in its course has accelerated their progress, by awakening and enlisting the energies of gifted minds throughout the Mississippi Valley, and in several contiguous states, each successive anniversary has exhibited the gratifying spectacle of literary and scientific talent arduously engaged in the most in teresting discussions on the best practical methods of eliciting and diffusing the benefits of sound tuition and moral discipline; and we are encouraged to look forward with sanguine expectation to the continued increase of qualified and judicious instructors, whose united and well directed efforts forward. It turns, and winds, and proceeds on its structors, whose united and well directed efforts shall train up a rising community to the stability of enlightened and exemplary freemen—guardians freemen—guardians in all this, it has shaped its course, and tollowed samples of threshing, and other purposes. He has been for and perpetuators of our republican liberties.

Not only the intellectual and moral elevation or degradation; in the present life, but their inevitable consequences-the essential and permanent welfare or wretchedness in a life to come—of millions, are involved in their wisdom or their folly!

What stronger motive to effort-what more powerful stimuli to a generous expansion of human sympathies—what more ennobling inducement to the most strenuous exertions—can be presented than such considerations?

Let us, then, unite our efforts, fellow laborers. in the high and holy aim of sowing the seeds and nurturing the plants, which, with the blessing of the Infinite Father of minds and of mercies, may ripen into a rich harvest of intelligence, virtue and

By order of the Executive Committee. ALBERT PICKET, Sen., President.

STATISTICS OF EDUCATION.

The Portland Transcript contains the following interesting statistics of the means of education

throughout the United States. About one-third of the population of the country are between the ages of 3 and 16 and 18, and of course are the proper subjects for school education.

In the United States more than four millions of

children ought to be under the influence of schools. In Maine, the law requires that the inhabitants of every town pay annually for the support of schools a sum equal at least to every person living in it. That amounts to about \$120,000. Their

expenditures are more than \$140,000. In New Hampshire, a separate tax of \$90,000 is raised for schools, besides an annual appropriation from a tax on bank stock of \$10,000.

In Vermont, more than \$50,000 are raised chools from a third per cent. tax on the grand list, and as much more from district taxes, besides an income of nearly \$1000 from banks. husetts there are nearly 3000 schools

supported by public taxes and private subscrip-In Boston, the schools contain more than 12, ildren at an expense of \$200,000.

In Rhode Island are about seven hundred schools supported by a legislative appropriation of \$10.000 annually, by taxes and private subscriptions.

The Connections fund The Connecticut fund is about \$2000,000, but fails of its desired object. Children in the state, 85.000-schools about 1500.

In New York are more than 9000 schools. over 500,000 children taught in them. School fund, \$1,700,000, distributed annually \$100,000, but on the condition that each town raise by tax or otherwise, as much as they receive from the

New Jersey has a fund of \$253,000, and an an-

Delaware has a school fund of \$70,000. Maryland has a fund of \$75,000 and an incr pols from the banks, which is divided between the several counties.

Virginia has a fund of \$1,633,000, the income divided among the counties according to the white population, and appropriated to paying the tuition of poor children generally attending private schools.

North Carolina has a fund of \$70,000, designed

square, with one section, the sixteenth, appropriated to education. Mississippi has a fund of \$28,000, but it is not

available until it amount to \$500,000. The Legislature of Louisiana grants to each parish or county in that state, \$2,621 for each voter.

FIRESIDE EDUCATION.

The author of Peter Parley's Tales has in

course of publication, a work on family education, from which the following extract is made:—

"The Fireside.—As the infant begins to discriminate between the objects around, it soon discovers one countenance that ever smiles upon it with peculiar benignity. When it wakes from its sleep, there is one watchful form ever bent over its sleep, there is one watchful form ever bent over its guardian angel seems ever ready to sooth its fears. If cold, that ministering spirit brings it warmth; if hungry, she feeds it; if in pain, she relieves it; if happy, she carresses it. In joy or sorrow, in if hungry, she feeds it; if in pain, sne relieves it, if happy, she carresses it. In joy or sorrow, in weal, or wo, she is the first object of its thoughts.

Her presence is its heaven. The mother is the Proceeded immediately for Liverpool.

All the details of the doings of the Prince de Joinville, at

"Now, reflect for a moment upon the impress ible, the susceptible character of this little being, and consider the power of this mother, in shaping the fine clay that is entrusted to her hands. Consider, with what authority, with what effect, one

so loved, so reverenced, so adored, may speak. "Let us go forward to the period of youth.
The mother holds the reins of the soul; the father sways the dominion of the intellect. I do not affirm that there is an exact or complete division of empire between the parents. Both exert a powerful influence over the mind and heart. I mean only to state generally, that the maternal power is exercised rather over the affections, and that of the father over the mind. It is a blended sway: and, if exerted in unison, it has the force of destiny. There may be cases in which children may seem to set parental anthority at defiance, but these instances, if they actually occur, are rare, and may be regarded as exceptions, which are said to prove the rule. Remember the impressible character of youth, and consider its relation to the parent. Is not the one like the fused metal, and has not the other the power to impress upon it the image ineffaceable as the die upon steel? Nay, is it not matter of fact, attested by similar observation, that children come forth from the hands of their parents stamped with a character that seldom deserts them in after life? Are they not impressed with manin after life? Are they not impressed with manners, tastes, habits, and opinions, which circumstances may modify, but never efface? If the countenance of the child often bears a resemblance to the father or mother, do we not still more frequently discover in the offspring the moral impress

"Is it not true, then, that parents are the law givers of their children? Does not a mother's counsel, does not a father's example, cling to the memory, and haunt us through life? Do we not often find ourselves subject to habitual trains of thought? and if we seek to discover the origin of these, are we not insensibly led back, by some peaten and familiar track, to the parental threshold? Do we not often discover some home-chis eled grooves in our minds, into which the intelectual machinery seems to slide, as by a sort of necessity? Is it not, in short, a proverbial truth. that the controlling lessons of life are given beneath the parental roof? I know, indeed that the wayward passions spring up in early life, and, urging us to set authority at defiance, seek to obtain the mastery of the heart. But, though struggling for liberty and licence, the child is shaped and moulded by the parent. The stream that bursts from the fountain, seems to rush forward headlong and self-willed, still turns hither and thither, according to the shape of its mother earth over which it flows. If an obstacle is thrown across its path, it gathers that the controlling lessons of life are given beneath the parental roof? I know, indeed that the wayan obstacle is thrown across its path, it gathers strength, breaks away the barrier, and again bounds out its career, from bubbling infancy at the founat its bidding it goes forward; but the parent marks out its track. He may not stop its progress, but he may guide its course. He may not throw a dam across its path, and say hitherto mayest thou go and no farther; but he may turn it through safe. and gentle, and useful courses, or he may leave it to plunge over wild cataracts, or lose itself in some

sandy desert, or collect its strength into a torrent but to spread ruin and desolation along its borders.' HOME AND HOSPITALITY. The following excellent suggestions concerning the influence of *Home and Hospitality* upon the education of children are from the pen of Mrs. Sigourney, and deserve the attention of parents :-The style of social intercourse established by families and neighborhood, has a strong influence on the uninformed character of Children. Naturally gregarious, the expansion of the social principle gives them pleasure. They receive their most vivid impressions through the senses: and there is a consent of the senses, in the satisfaction that awaits the coming of a guest. The cheerful preparation which they see—the agreeable addiions to the table—the putting on of the best robethe smiling face of the welcome friend-the kind

words addressed to themselves, cause their little hearts to swell with delight.

Neither is this sharing of their good things with thers an inert precept of moral regimen. It fosters a simple form of benevolence, and helps to extirpate those plants of selfishness, which have a ich growth in the most rich soil of infancy. Children sometimes see their parents extending the rites of hospitality to the sick friend or the sorrowful stranger; and they imbibe that class of deeper sympathy, which flow forth towards the homeless and the poor. Nor are these lessons of love to their race of little value. The happiness learned from seeing others happy, is better than that which is derived from solitary acquisition. The pleasure thus reflected from the smiles of a guest, is one of

the rudiments of benevolence.

Permit your young children, therefore, whenever it is proper, to share the warmth of an unceimonious hospitality. For this reason, as well as for others still more important, be strenuous to secure for them the privileges of a home. The custom, so prevalent in our larger cities, of abandoning housekeeping, and becoming lodgers, either in public hotels or in private families, is fraught with evils .- When such an arrangement is the result of necessity, it should be submitted to, like any other form of adversity. But if parents could, by additional economy, or increase of personal exertion, maintain their own table and family altar, they nual income of 22,000.

In Pennsylvania, during the last year, more than should do it for the sake of their little ones. How250,000 children out of 400,000 were destitute of ever small may be the nest where their new fledged offspring are nurtured, no matter, if they can only brood over it with their own wing. Under the roof of another, the husband and father can neither command the respect nor authority which are his perogatives; nor the wife exhibit before those who fashion themselves after her model, the full beauty and energy of maternal example.

North Carolina has a fund of \$70,000, designed for common schools.

South Carolina appropriates \$44,000 annually to free schools.

Georgia has a fund of \$500,000, and more than 700 common schools.

Alabama and most all the western and southwestern states, are divided into townships, six miles square, and each town into sections one mile with the surface square, and each town into sections one mile.

Life Boat.

An experiment was made yesterday at Striker's Bay, with two cylinders are defor a life boat for one of the Havre packets. The cylinders are for copper, and 17 feet long, containing 6,792 cubic inches hydrogen gas each. They were placed by the side of each other in the water, and would have sustained a fourth without sinking beneath the surface. The experiment was made by the request of many acceptance of the Havre packets. The cylinders are fourth without sinking beneath the surface. The experiment was made yesterday at Striker's Bay, with two cylinders, made for a life boat for one of the Havre packets. The cylinders are deposited by the side of each other in the water, and would have sustained a fourth without sinking beneath the surface. The experiment was made by sterday at Striker's Bay, with two cylinders are defor a life boat for one of the Havre packets. The cylinders are deposited by the side of each other in the water, and would have sustained a fourth without sinking beneath the surface. The experiment was made by sterday at Striker's Bay, with two cylinders made for a life boat for one of the Havre packets. The cylinders are deposited by the side of each other in the water, and would have sustained a fourth without sinking beneath the surface. The experiment was made by sterday at Striker's Bay, with two cylinders are deposited by the side of each other in the water, and would have sustained a fourth without sinking beneath the surface. The experiment was made by the first two cylinders are deposited by the side of each other in the water, and the water and south two cylinders are deposited b

From the New York Express
THREE DAYS LATER FROM LONDON.

By the Mediator, Capt. Chaplin, we have files from Lon-lon to the 23d inclusive, being one day later than by the Freat Western steam-ship.

Mr. Rush is a passenger in the Mediator, and brings over in gold, the Smithsonian bequest, amounting to above half

Mr. Rusn sin gold, the Smithsonian beques,
a million of dollars,
A farther creation of Knights of the Bath, was made on
A farther creation of Knights of the Bath, was made on
A farther creation of Knights of the Bath, was made on
A farther creation of Knights of the Bath, was made on
A farther creation of Knights of the Bath, was made on

Newport, New York, &c. are minutely given in the Paris ournals. The citizens of Brest gave him a great entertain-

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

House or Lords, July 20.—Lord Wharncliffe presented a petition on the subject of the state of the church in Canada. The Bishop of Exeter censured the government for leaving the province of Canada so destitue of instruction, complaining that the Protestant Bishop received only £1000 from the government, while the same amount was received by the Catholic Bishop.

Lord Glenelg said that his powers did not enable him to give more extensive aid to the Canada church than he had given hitherto—that ample spiritual instruction was provided for his Protestant fellow subjects in the colonies.

The Bishop of Exeter inquired whether any instructions had been given to Lord Durham, changing or modifying the standing instructions given to his lordship's predecessor, as to the conduct to be pursued towards the established church and the catholics.

and the catholics.

Lord Glenelg said there had been no variation.

The benifice-plurality bill was ordered to be read a third ime on the 22nd.

House of Commons, July 20.—In answer to a que Sir George Grey said that the government proposed to entrust the East India government to prevent the emigration of laborers (Coolies) to the West India, until there should be time for a full investigation of the circumstances.

would agree to it,
In answer to a question by Sir J. Graham, Sir Geo. Grey said that an order in council would be issued invalidating all contracts made by the natives of India or Africa, in any of the crown colonies, unless those contracts were made after a certain time; that the jurisdiction of the special magistrates would cease in the colonies where the negroes have been emancipated; and that it was proposed to make great alte ations in the judicature of the West India Colonies.

Lord Ashly moved for an address to the Queen regretting that the law regulating the labor of children in factories had remained so long without amendment—being in effect a vote of censure on the House itself, for not passing some This motion gave rise to a long debate, in which the

whole subject of factory labour was discustion was finally negatived, 106 to 121. The letters and papers by the Garrick, which arrived at iverpool on the 20th July, had not been received at Lon-

Power of Electricity.

out its career, from bubbling infancy at the fountain, to its termination in the great reservoir of waters, according to the channel which its parent earth is provided. Such is the influence of a parent over his child. It has within itself a will, and at its hidding it goes forward; but the parent marks be fixed to a grindstone, lathe, or any other machinery verfect ease. It is small—portable, and strong.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

GLEZEN & SHEPARD, STEREOTYPE FOUNDERS and PRINTERS, No. 29 PEARL STREET, CINCINNATI.

FARMS AND COUNTRY SEATS FOR SALE. A desirable FARM of 135 acres, situated near a M Adamized road 10 miles from town, having seventy acres in cultivation, two orchards of Apple and Cherry trees: a stone house with 10 rooms, a cellar and three porches: a stone wood house: Also a brick house with 5 rooms and a cellar: The land lies generally well for cultivation, and the soil is good. It is calculated for a dairy farm.

A FARM of 57 acres situated 40 miles from town upon a good road, with 45 acres in cultivation: an orchard of acres of Apple and Peach trees, a frame house with 3 room and a good frame barn 45 by 30 feet. The land is good and

A fertile FARM of 160 acres in Switzerland co. Indians having 80 acres in cultivation: a good two story brick house with 6 rooms and a cellar; a substantial frame barn 70 by 46 feet, and a large orchard of apple, cherry and peach trees,— The land is level and the soil excellent.

A good FARM of 84 acres, situated 12 miles from town upon a read, having 60 acres in tillage, the rest well timbered.

The improvements consist of a good brick house with 4 rooms, a large cellar and a porch, also a brick smoke house, a frame barn, a frame cow house for 16 cows, a frame wagon house and other out buildings; likewise an orchard of choice apple and pear trees. The whole farm is well fenced and

vatered with many springs. A FARM of 106 acres, situated 12 miles from town up a road, having 65 acres in culture, two log houses with 3 rooms each, a large frame barn and an extensive orchard of apple and pear trees. The land is good and favorably located for cultivation. It consists of rich bottom and upland.

An excellent FARM of 340 acres, situated upon a good road 8 miles from town, with, 200 acres, in cultivation, the rest well timbered; two good orchards of apple, cherry quince and peach trees, a stone house with 6 rooms, a cellar and a porch: also two comfortable frame houses; two frame barns, a frame cow house and other buildings. The land is

This is a superior farm.

A handsome Country Seat, with 58 acres of land, situated 4 miles from town upon a good road, having an excellent two story Brick House, containing seven rooms, a kitchen and a cellar; also a Cistern and a Smoke House, and other outbuildings; likewise a tenant's House, a commodious new Frame Barn, a Stable, and an Orchard of 6 acres of choice Apple, Pear, Plum, Quince, and Cherry trees. There are 10 acres of woodland; the rest is meadow or arable land.—The soil is rich; the buildings are new, and composed of the most substantial materials.

A FERTILE FARM of 115 acres, calculated for A FERTILE FARM of 115 acres, calculated for a country seat, located upon a good road, 7 miles from town, having 80 acres in cultivation, an orchard of select fruit trees of various kinds, a garden well paled, a shrubberry of cedar and other ever-greens; a frame barn 50 by 30 feet; also a large Brick house with seven rooms, a hall, a cellar and a porch; likewise a tennant's frame house, a frame smoke house, andother out buildings. The soil is rich, well watered, and located favorably for tillage.

A COUNTRY SEAT with 32 acres of land, situated upon a road, 4 miles from town, with 20 acres watered.

upon a road, 4 miles from town, with 20 acres in culture, the rest in timber. The improvements consist of a frame house with 7 rooms, a cellar and two porches; also a frame stable, a good cister and a large orchard of choice apple, pear and cherry trees. The land is chiefly in meadow, is rich and rolling.

A beautiful ORNEE COTTAGE, situated 6 miles from town upon a good road, having 8 tooms, a cellar, and a porticoon three sides; likewise a barn and other out buildings; also, a garden with many cedar and other ever-greens; and 15 acres of land. TWO ACRES OF LAND situated 2 miles fre

upon a M'Adamized road, with a brick house having 4 roo

SIXTY FIVE ACRES OF LAND upon the Lebanon turnpike, 3 miles from town, with 30 acres in cultivation, an orchard of 70 to 80 trees, and several springs. The land is rich and rolling. It has several eligible building spots.

A desirable FARM of 230 acres situated 5 miles from town, upon a good road, having 180 acres in cultivation, an orchard of choice grafted fruit trees, apple, peach, pear, and plum; a garden well enclosed, having strawberry and asparagus beds; likewise a frame house, with 3 rooms, also a milk house with two bed rooms. a commodious frame harn, a gus beds; likewise a frame house, with 3 rooms, also a mina house with two bed rooms, a commodious frame barn, a brick smoke house and frame stables and cow houses. The land is rich and consists of fertile bottom and upland. It is a very fine farm, and well calculated for a country seat or dairy, nursery and market garden purposes.

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